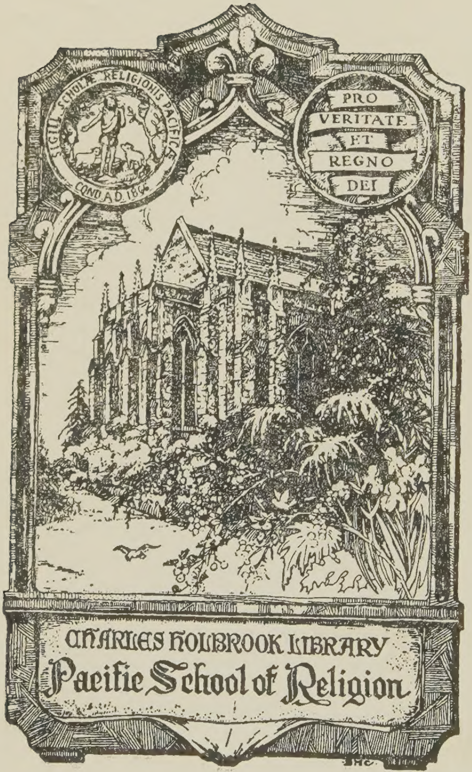
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Volume Six 1953

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SERVANT OF THE LORD AND SON OF MAN[1]

by THE REV. PROFESSOR MATTHEW BLACK

THE recognition that Isaiah's Servant of the Lord referred to the Messiah, and to himself as Son of man, goes back at least to the Founder of the Christian religion Himself. Does it go any further back, and has it any particular background in Hebrew thought and history? In other words, Is the New Testament doctrine of a Suffering Messiah unique to Christianity?

On that ancient theological *cause célèbre*, as old in some aspects as Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, a vast amount of labour and learning has been expended, often with little enough to show for it. There is, however, one line of approach to it which we are now in a much better position to make than heretofore. In the past scholars have been engaged for the most part in searching the Scriptures and the literature of Judaism for any slightest trace of this belief. This we might call the frontal attack on the problem. Biblical scholars are now, however, trying something more like a flanking movement, by beginning with the question, not or not only, Were Isaiah's prophecies and particularly Isa. 53 ever applied to the Jewish Messiah, but, to whom or to what, if not the Messiah, did the Jews of the first century apply the prophecies of the Servant?

We are in a particularly happy position at present to make this indirect approach to the question: (1) The Old Testament and Jewish background has just been admirably surveyed for us in a comprehensive and scholarly article by Professors W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias on παῖς Θεοῦ in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*. (2) Fresh evidence is coming to light on the subject in the recently discovered *Dead Sea Scrolls*, where there is a rich harvest of new facts about the Jewish world before the destruction of the Temple.

---

[1] *Inaugural Lecture to the Chair of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities, University of Edinburgh, delivered in the Rainy Hall, New College, 9th October* 1952.

Jeremias (who is responsible for the New Testament background and usage) begins with the important observation that the designation *Ebed* or *παῖς* was never at any time a Jewish title for the Messiah. In the Judaism of our period, three different lines of interpretation can be traced: (1) the collective, i.e. the application of the prophecies to Israel or to the righteous congregation within Israel; (2) they are related, particularly in Palestinian sources, to the prophet Isaiah himself, and in line with this the rabbis have a frequent habit of referring individual passages to outstanding Israelites, such as Abraham, Moses, David, Noah, and later to Rabbi Akiba and the men of the great synagogue, though Jeremias thinks that no importance can be attached to this fact. (3) They are applied to the Messiah.

I am concerned in this lecture mainly with (2), the application of the prophecies, particularly marked in Palestine, to outstanding individuals. But I shall have something to say on (1) and (3) at a later point in the lecture.

(2) The application of the prophecies to Isaiah himself need not detain us. Is Dr Jeremias right, however, in attaching no importance to the Palestinian tendency to identify the Servant with individuals, not the Messiah? The evidence of Acts 8.34 shows that it goes back to our period (in the question of the puzzled Ethiopian eunuch whom the Evangelist Philip found reading Isa. 53, '. . . I pray thee of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself or of some other?'). An even older piece of evidence is the Test. Benj. 3.8 (second century B.C.), where Isa. 53.8 ('for the transgressions of my people was he stricken'), described as 'the heavenly prophecy' is applied to an unknown descendant of Joseph.[1] Taken together with the rabbinical evidence, these passages seem to me to point to a tendency, particularly marked in Palestine, to refer the prophecies to outstanding individuals, not, or perhaps not only, to the Messiah.

None of the individuals mentioned by the rabbis takes us any nearer a solution of the New Testament problem. But are there any others?

There is reason to believe that one of the liveliest of popular

---

[1] Cf., however, Jeremias, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Band V, p. 685.

Jewish expectations in the New Testament period was that of the coming of a Prophet 'like unto Moses', foretold at Deut. 18.15: 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee like unto me: unto him ye shall hearken . . .' Critical opinion is divided on the question whether this figure was a Messianic one in Judaism; Bultmann maintains against Jeremias (who follows the Gfrörer tradition) that the recognition of Deut. 18.15 as a Messianic proof-text was a purely Christian, never a Jewish insight.[1] There is general agreement, however, that it was an extraordinarily influential form of belief, among Samaritans as well as among Jews and Christians; we learn this from patristic writers and from Josephus, as well as from the New Testament.[2] In the New Testament itself, the Moses-Messiah typology lies behind far more in St. Matthew's Gospel than the Sermon on the Mount. The 'Prophet' reappears as a Jewish figure in St. John; at 1.31 the Baptist is asked if he is the Prophet, and after the miracle of the Feeding, the people cry: 'This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world' (6.14; cf. 7.40). In this last case (6.14) John may have preserved the most primitive tradition of the story, for in representing Jesus as a 'second Moses' repeating the miracle of the manna, he is making Him fulfil a Jewish expectation that a miraculous feeding, like the manna, would be performed by the second Deliverer.[3]

In the speeches of Peter and Stephen in Acts (our oldest Christological source), Deut. 18.15 is applied to Jesus, the whole point of Stephen's long speech down to verse 37 (where the text is applied to Jesus) being the parallel between the rejection of Moses, the first saviour of his people, and that of Jesus, 'the prophet *like unto Moses*.' In Peter's speech at 3.22-26, Deut. 18.15 is brought into direct connexion in two parallel verses with Isa. 53: 'Moses indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord raise up from among your brethren like unto me; to him ye shall hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you . . . Unto you . . . God having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away everyone of you from your iniquities.'

---

[1] *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 61.

[2] Cf. F. W. Young, 'Jesus the Prophet', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 68, pp. 285 ff.

[3] Cf. Keim, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 4, pp. 197 ff.

When Luke (or his source) brings together Deut. 18.15 and Isa. 53 in this way and applies them to Jesus, he is preserving one of the most primitive forms of New Testament Christology. The entirely new and revolutionary idea is, of course, that it is Jesus of Nazareth who is the Prophet and the Servant of the Lord, a Prophet like unto Moses who fulfilled the destiny of Isaiah's prophecies. Is there, however, any background or precedent in Judaism for the application of the Servant prophecies to the Prophet 'like unto Moses'?

It is not surprising to find in rabbinical sources, as in Stephen's speech, that the Prophet 'like unto Moses' was expected to suffer rejection and humiliation, and Isa. 53 is applied to the figure.[1] There is, however, earlier evidence still for this connexion between the Prophet and the fate and figure of the Servant, namely in the newly discovered *Dead Sea Scrolls*.

These scrolls tell us about a remarkable movement of pre-Christian Judaism (some would identify it with the Essenes) which was clearly in its origins a priestly 'disruption', founded as a protest against the corrupt Hellenising High Priesthood of Hasmonaean or Roman times (Kahle,[2] Burrows[3] and Rowley[4] think Hasmonaean or pre-Hasmonaean, others Roman). The 'sect' regarded itself as the true Israel and is described as 'the Remnant' (Zad. 1.4) and its members as 'the saints of the Most High' (Zad. 9.34B). The 'original secession' moved from Jerusalem to Damascus where they entered into a 'New Covenant', pledging themselves to a spiritual observance of the Law of Moses such as Jeremiah had envisaged. Their founder, variously known as 'the Lawgiver' or the 'Teacher of Righteousness', the 'Unique Teacher' met a martyr's death at the hands of one of the Hellenising High Priests (referred to as the Wicked Priest or 'the man of lies'), a fact mentioned several times in the documents.

Who was this Lawgiver or Teacher of Righteousness? The view that he was a Messianic figure is widely held; it is shared by Rowley and, on the New Testament side, by Jeremias. The most remarkable interpretation, however, is that of M. Dupont-

[1] See Jeremias' article in TWzNT on *Μωυσῆς*, Band IV, p. 867.

[2] *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1952 (7), p. 409.

[3] *Oudtest. Studien* VIII, p. 192.

[4] *Expository Times*, LXIII, No. 12, p. 382.

Sommer of the Sorbonne.[1] The Messiah, a divine being, incarnate in the Teacher of Righteousness, suffered under Pompey at the hands of a Jewish High Priest (after a life like Christ's on earth) and was to return for judgment 'at the end of the days.' Christianity is a second (not to say second-hand) version of the story.[2]

Justification for the extraordinary claims here made is mainly found in the view (first put forward by Schechter, later rejected by R. H. Charles, Lagrange, Israel Levi) that the Master of Justice and the Messiah, who is to appear 'at the end of the days' are one and the same individual. I need only mention Charles's reference to Zad. 9.29 banning from the sect all who fall away from the New Covenant 'from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until there arise the Messiah from Aaron and Israel'. In the face of such a clear distinction of personalities, the idea that the Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah of the sect was one and the same individual is somewhat difficult to maintain.[3]

The correct interpretation of this evidence is given by Joachim Jeremias in his important article on *Moses* in Kittel.[4] Jeremias had only the Zadokite document at his disposal, but his views are fully confirmed by the newly discovered scrolls. The whole teaching and inspiration of the sect's life is based on the conception that Israel's wanderings in the desert supply the prototype of its final destiny and deliverance (an idea which meets us again in the New Testament). The Community dwells in tents as in the wilderness days, its members are enrolled and mustered in their tens and thousands as the Israelites of the Exodus; their New Covenant corresponds to the Old Covenant. Millar Burrows draws attention to the reference (twice in the *Manual of Discipline*) to the time of going into the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, as it is written, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert an high-way for our God' (op. cit., p. 185); it clearly points to the expectation of a second exodus and links up, not only (perhaps) with the movement of John the Baptist (as Brownlee thinks, *Biblical Archaeologist*, xiii, 3), but with that of Theudas mentioned at Acts 5.36 and so interpreted by Josephus. Moreover, their martyred founder, the Lawgiver or Teacher of Righteousness (both names, 'Lawgiver' and 'Teacher' are applied to Moses in Scripture), is almost certainly to be regarded as 'a prophet like unto Moses'.

---

[1] In his monograph *Aperçus preliminaires sur les Manuscrits de la Mère Morte* (*L'Orient Ancien Illustré*, No. 4, Paris, 1950), translated into English by E. Margt. Rowley as *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. (Blackwell, 1952.)

[2] See especially pp. 34 and 99.

[3] It is not at all surprising to find a Jewish scholar (Dr J. L. Teicher of Cambridge), who accepts the same premises as Schechter and Sommer, drawing the conclusion which G. Margoliouth had drawn many years ago about the Zad. document, that it was in fact a document of primitive Christianity. Margoliouth did not, however, go so far as Teicher and identify the Wicked Priest and 'the man of lies' with St. Paul.

[4] Band IV, p. 865.

Further, the new scrolls testify to the belief in the *coming* not only of a Messiah, but of 'a prophet' or 'the prophet'. This expectation is set out at 9.10-11 in the *Manual of Discipline* where regulations are given for the life of the Community under the 'sons of Aaron'. William Brownlee renders: '. . . they shall be ruled by the first laws with which the men of the Community began to be disciplined until the coming of a Prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel' (*Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*, Supp. 10-12, 1951). Brownlee sees in the coming Prophet a reference to the Prophet like unto Moses of Deut. 18.15, and that this is a correct interpretation is confirmed by the references in two adjacent passages to the approaching time of departure into the desert.

It is possible that we ought to render this passage differently with important consequences for the nature of the beliefs of the sect, namely, 'until the coming of the Prophet and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel'.[1] If this translation is correct, then clearly the priestly Messiah of the sect must be regarded in the light of a second Aaron (a belief not without parallel[2]), working, like his predecessor, in close partnership with the 'Prophet like unto Moses'. What we have, in other words, is another version of the Elijah-Messiah combination reflected in the Gospels. The strange thing is that this is the only passage where we find the Prophet mentioned; in the later Zad. fragment we read almost invariably of the 'Messiah of Aaron and Israel'. Two explanations may be suggested: (1) The *Manual of Discipline* is older than the Zad. document and reflects an early stage in the history and tenets of the sect. According to Zad. 9.29, 39B, forty years are to elapse after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and the 'kindling of the Wrath of God' in Israel against the Wicked Priest and his Gentile confederates. If this last event is to be identified with the appearance of the Messiah, as Rowley (following Charles, etc.), has recently stated,[1] this would encourage us to believe that the coming of the Prophet was recognised as fulfilled in the Teacher of Righteousness. After him, we hear only of his expected partner, the Messiah. (2) Other forms of Messianic belief may have influenced the sect so that the coming prophet became merged in the expected Messiah, the idea of the latter as a second Aaron being forgotten.

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[1] An exact parallel (both to grammar and sense) is Zad. 8.2, rightly rendered by Israel Levi as *par Moise et son oint saint* (i.e. Aaron) (*Revue des Études Juives*, Tome. 61, p. 182). (I read the Hebrew in both cases as *meshiho*, constr. with *Yodh compaginis*, Ges. K., p. 264 n.) The regular expression is 'Messiah of Aaron and Israel' (Zad. 2.10, 8.2, 9.10, 29 (B), 15.4, 18.8). Is the passage based on an interpretation of Dan. 9.24? Aquila and the Peshitta understood the last three words of the Messiah (and are followed by both Jewish and Christian commentators). The reference to the martyrdom of an Anointed one in the following verses must also surely have influenced the sect's beliefs? Perhaps the Teacher was (also like Moses) 'an anointed one', without being the Anointed One expected at the end of the days.

[2] See Jeremias' article on Moses, Band IV, p. 868, lines 1-15.

I set aside, however, these still controversial issues and content myself meantime with the observation that the historical Teacher of Righteousness was a second Moses, or 'prophet like unto Moses' who suffered martyrdom. Are there any grounds for believing that the Isaiah prophecies were applied to his life and mission?

The Servant passages are applied to the mission of the sect itself. The *Manual of Discipline* (8.1 ff) refers to twelve men and three priests who are 'to maintain faithfulness in the land with a steadfast purpose and a broken spirit; and they shall expiate iniquity by upholding the righteous cause and bearing the anguish of the refiner's furnace'. There then follows a description of the Council and this inner circle (*sodh*, undoubtedly the fifteen saints) in verse:

> As an eternal planting, an holy house for Israel,
> A conclave which is an holy of holies for Aaron,
> *Witnesses of truth concerning judgment,*
> *And the chosen of grace to atone for the land,*
> And to render the wicked their desert.
> This is the tried wall, the precious corner-stone,
> Whose foundations shall not be shaken,
> Nor be dislodged from their place.

---

[1] op. cit., p. 381.

It is not my purpose to point out the many points of contact this passage has with the New Testament, the description of the élite of the Community as the 'tried stone', 'the precious cornerstone' (Isa. 28.6), and as a living temple ('an holy house for Israel') recalling 1 Peter 2.5 ff; its innermost conclave as an 'holy of holies', reminding us of the spiritual atonement of Hebrews (a later passage (9.3 ff) describes the whole community as 'an institution of the Holy Spirit . . . for making atonement for the guilt of transgression . . .') What I am more concerned now to emphasise is that this putative Remnant, 'the saints of the Most High', here described again in language reminiscent of Daniel (the 'refining furnace' recalls Daniel's description of the ordeal that awaits the saints (11.35)), is identified in express terms with the Servant of the Lord. 'Witnesses of truth concerning judgment' reminds us of Isa. 43.10, 12 ('Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord; and my servant whom I have chosen'), while 'the chosen of grace to atone for the land' is clearly Isa. 43.1 ('Behold my servant whom I uphold, my chosen one in whom my soul delighteth'), with ideas at any rate from Isa. 53. Here the mission of the Servant is at any rate related to the symbolic 'Son of Man' of Dan. 7, the 'one like unto a man'[1]; and the prophecies are especially applied to a select group of dedicated saints.

We may be certain, if only on the principle of *noblesse oblige*, that if these prophecies could be applied to the members of the sect, they were *a fortiori* applicable to its martyred leader and founder, the Prophet like unto Moses, who certainly met the Servant's fate. If the functions of the Prophet were later merged in the Messiah, then these prophecies may even have come to be applied to this later figure. There is certainly one passage in the *Testament of Levi* xviii (one of the sacred books of this sect) where I believe we can detect an allusion to the idea of the Priestly Messiah as sacrificial victim.[1]

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[1] In a recent paper read before the Society for New Testament Study, entitled 'The Theme of Vindication in the New Testament', *Bulletin* III, p. 40 ff, Mr C. H. Moule, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, argued that at Dan. 7.21, 25, suffering is already affirmed of the Son of Man. Since these verses too describe the sufferings of the saints symbolised by the Son of Man, there is force in Professor Moule's point. (He might have added Dan. 9.35, describing the martyrdom of the 'learned', the instructors of the 'many' (*rabbim*, incidentally the name given the Zadokites as a whole) where (as Montgomery points out, *Comm.* ad loc.) suffering and death are no longer represented as in the earlier Old Testament theology as judgment on wickedness, but as a means of vicarious purification for Israel.) See also Taylor, *Comm.* on Mark, p. 542. Does Isa. 53 itself lie behind Dan.? At 12.3, 'And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they *that turn many to righteousness* as the stars for ever and ever', the phrase in italics, lit. 'the justifiers of the many' comes from Isa. 53.12. Here at any rate eternal life is affirmed of the 'justifiers of the many' (cf. Mark 9.31) and at Dan. 9.35 they certainly suffer the fate of the Servant.

From this long discussion of background, I return to the New Testament. There is reason to believe that the *novissimum* at Acts 3.22-26 is not the idea of a Suffering Prophet-Servant like unto Moses, but the identification of that figure with Jesus of Nazareth. Has St. Mark the same traditional background when he represents Jesus as beginning to teach, after the Caesarea Philippi incident, that the Son of Man must suffer? Does this idea of a suffering prophet account at any rate partly for these statements?

The miracle of the Feeding, the work of a 'prophet like unto Moses' distributing the manna of the Messianic age, immediately precedes Peter's confession. It is followed by the Transfiguration where the thought of Jesus as a 'prophet like unto Moses' becomes, after the Confession, one of a greater than Moses: but Deut. 18.15 is still in the background of the story.[2] Immediately after the Transfiguration in answer to a question from His disciples whether Elijah should first come, Jesus replied: 'Elijah indeed cometh first, and restoreth all things: and how is it written of the Son of Man that he should suffer many things and be set at nought? But I say unto you that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed, even as it is written of him.' At Rev. 11.3 ff, in the vision of the two Martyrs, one of the two witnesses is clearly Elijah and the second a prophet 'like unto Moses'. 'And I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophecy a thousand two hundred and three score days clothed in sackcloth. . . . These have the power to shut the heaven, that it rain not during the days of their prophecy (Elijah): and they have power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with every plague (Moses). . . . And when they have finished their testimony the beast that cometh up out of the abyss shall . . . kill them. And their dead bodies lie in the street of that great city . . . where also our Lord was crucified.' The claim has been made that this passage can be traced to an independent Jewish source preserved in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*; there the two figures are Elijah and Enoch, about whom it is said that their dead bodies will lie exposed in the market-place and (as in Revelation) after three days rise again.[1] Whether this be so or not, the conjunction of a tradition that a coming Elijah and a coming Moses would suffer death is clearly not unconnected with, yet as clearly independent of, Mark 9.1-13.

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[1] See the suggestion in my article on *The Messiah in the Testament of Levi xviii* in *Expository Times*, Vol. 60, p. 321.

[2] Dr Vincent Taylor writes (*Commentary on St. Mark*, in loc.) on the words 'This is my beloved Son, *hear ye him*': 'Mark has in mind Deut. 18.15, 'A prophet from the midst of thy brethren, like unto me, shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee; *him ye shall hear* . . .' (italics mine).

Such a Jewish belief in a 'prophet like unto Moses' meeting a martyr's death in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies may at any rate partly account for the origins of the New Testament doctrine that the Son of Man must suffer.[2]

There remains Jeremias' third point, the application of the Servant passages to the Messiah. As the παῖς Θεοῦ Article is still incomplete it is too early yet to attempt an evaluation.[3] So far as the article is published, probably Jeremias' strongest argument is in his section on the Enoch Son of Man. Ever since Professor William Manson's important book *Jesus the Messiah*, it is readily admitted that the Son of Man in 1 Enoch has taken on several distinctive features of the Servant. The name 'Elect One' comes from Isa. 42.1 and Jeremias may be right in claiming that the title 'the righteous one' comes from Isa. 53.11. Nevertheless one fact stands out (to which Dr Manson has drawn prominent attention at p. 184): nowhere in 1 Enoch is the main function of the Servant, his vicarious and redemptive suffering, ascribed to the Son of Man.

It seems to me, however, idle to deny that the Enoch conception has not influenced the New Testament and not least

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[1] G. Steindorff, *Apokalypse des Elias* in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Band XVII, NF. 2, p. 163. Cf. Jeremias' article on *Moses*, op. cit., p. 867. As the passage is also drawing on Rev. 11, it is difficult to say which parts are Jewish, which are Christian. Jeremias maintains that the introduction of Enoch for Moses is Jewish. He would be a bold interpreter, indeed, who would say that we have here the (apocalyptic) scriptures to which Jesus refers at Mark 9.12 and 13, namely that the second Elijah as well as the Son of Man should be put to death. But it has to be put on record that, according to 1 Enoch 71, which I have elsewhere argued (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, N.S., Vol. III, Pt. 1, April 1952) is the oldest Jewish part of the Similitudes, it is *Enoch who is the Son of Man*.

[2] Cf. G. S. Duncan, *Jesus Son of Man*, pp. 92 ff.

[3] I have had the great privilege of being allowed to see the proof-sheets of the rest of the article.

St. Mark; it is much more than the Danielic Son of Man we find in closest connexion with the Caesarea Philippi confession at Mark 8.38, where the Son of Man is to come in the glory of His Father with the holy angels. Whether it goes back to Jesus Himself may be a moot point, but it is certainly embedded in the earliest tradition. The motif of redemptive suffering however is never associated with the figure in Enoch. It has been introduced into New Testament Christology, I submit, from a quite different source, the belief in the Prophet and his fulfilment of Isa. 53. With the recognition of this figure as Messianic, whether before Christ or after Christ (or by Christ), the gulf is bridged between the majestic Son of Man Messiah, and the great Servant.

THE MILLENNIAL HOPE IN THE EARLY CHURCH[1]

by Pfarrer Dr HANS BIETENHARD[2]

The first post-Apostolic[3] Chiliast known to us is *Papias of Hierapolis.* From the oral tradition of presbyters who saw the disciple John he adduces a saying of Jesus referring to the miraculous fruitfulness of corn and wine during the millennium. There is an exact parallel to this tradition—perhaps its source—in Syr. Baruch 29.5: 'The earth also will yield its fruit 10,000 fold, and on one vine there will be 1000 branches, and each branch will produce 1000 clusters, and each cluster will produce 1000 grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine.' In this context we cannot discuss the priority and interdependence of the two traditions. We can only maintain that there existed in the Early Church a saying of Jesus which the presbyters and authorities cited by Papias referred at once to the millennium. We may also notice how closely the Christian and Judaistic traditions approximated and even merged into each other at this point. This is true even in the case of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which is normally so anti-Jewish. Speaking of the Sabbath which was instituted at creation, Barn. 15.3-9 argues that the Genesis narrative points prophetically to the final consummation. God created the world in six days, and He will bring it to its consummation in 6000 years, for one day is with the Lord as a 1000 years (Ps. 90.4; Barn. 15.4).[4] 'And God rested the seventh day' means for Barnabas that when His Son comes He will destroy the age (καιρός) of the lawless one (i.e. the Antichrist, cf. Isa. 11.4; 2 Thess. 2.8), judge the ungodly, and refashion the sun and the moon and the stars. And then He will truly rest the seventh day. The basis of his calculations was a rabbinic schema which greatly influenced the Fathers, and is not without influence even today. The passage is also typical in that it turns to the OT for a description of millennial conditions, as we still do even yet. The chief passage referred to here is Isa. 30.26 which was later combined with Rev. 20. According to Barnabas the universal Sabbath is followed by the new creation (Barn. 15.8). This new creation is cryptically referred to as the eighth day which is also the first. In this, too, the Epistle is dependent upon Jewish influences.[1] Except for the theory of a universal week the Barnabas schema corresponds exactly to that of Rev. 19.11-21.1 f. On the universal Sabbath all things are brought to rest and a new world begins. From the time of Barnabas onwards millennial expectation was always within the framework of a universal week of 7000 years.

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[1] On this whole subject cf. W. Nigg, *Das ewige Reich. Geschichte einer Sehnsucht und einer Enttaüschung* (1934); H. Bietenhard, *Das tausendjährige Reich. Eine biblisch-theologische Studie* (*Theol. Diss.*, Basel, 1945); J. Taubes, *Abendländische Eschatologie* (1947) in, *Beiträge zur Soziologie und Sozialphilosophie*, ed. René König, Vol. 3.

[2] Translated by the Rev. G. W. Bromiley, Ph.D., D.Litt. Edinburgh.

[3] According to Jerome (comm. ad Isa. 66.20) the Ebionites were Chiliasts as well as the Jews.

[4] It may be noted that the saying in Ps. 90.4 is here reversed (cf. 2 Pet. 3.8), and also made future. How and when this took place is not known. Almost all Fathers who looked for a millennium fitted it into the scheme of a universal week of 7000 years—for detailed evidence cf. A. Wikenhauser: 'Die Herkunft der Idee des tausendjährigen Reiches in der Johannesapokalypse' (1937) in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 45; and 'Weltwoche und tausendjähriges Reich' (1947) in *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift*, 127.

If Papias knew of a millennial saying of Jesus, in *Irenaeus*[2] as in Barnabas we find an ingenious combination of OT and NT passages starting with Rev. 20. In this way the relatively bald statements of the Scripture could be filled out and made more concrete. The millennial reign was to be an age of Paradise with miracles and natural blessings.[3] Not only would there be fruitfulness, but peace would reign in the animal world, cf. Isa. 11.6 f. Man would regain that dominion over the beasts once enjoyed by Adam, and creation would be renewed and liberated—another aspect of Irenaeus' theory of recapitulation. The just are to rise again and rule the world. The promise made to Jacob will thus be fulfilled, cf. Gen. 27.27 f. On the ground of Matt. 19.29—'in hoc saeculo'—the righteous will receive 100 fold that which they have given up for Christ, i.e. in the millennium they will already receive their reward in terms of this world. They will also receive their reward for the banquets which in obedience to Luke 14.12 f. they have given to the poor: 'Adiacentem habebunt paratam mensem a Deo, pascentem eos epulis omnibus' (*Haer.* V, 32, 2). They will participate in the Messianic banquet promised by Jesus, cf. Matt. 8.11, 26.29 (*Haer.* V, 36, 3). In the fellowship of the Lord they will grow accustomed to the glory of the Father and to spiritual converse, communion and unity with the holy angels (*Haer.* V, 35, 1). The same thought is finely expressed in *Haer.* V, 32, 1: 'Et regni, quod est principium incorruptelae, per quod regnum, qui digni fuerint, paullatim assuescunt capere deum.' The suggestion is that the resurrected cannot immediately see God face to face, but have to accustom themselves slowly to the glory of the new creation, growing up into it through the millennial fellowship with the exalted Christ. For Irenaeus the millennium is the beginning of the redemption of the children of God referred to in Rom. 8.19 f. The centre of the reign is Jerusalem, and it is there that resurrected believers will live and reign with those who survive the upheavals of the age of Antichrist. The Jerusalem in which the righteous are prepared for immortality is a type of the Jerusalem which comes down from heaven, as described in Isa. 49.16 (*Haer.* V, 32, 1).

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[1] Cf. slav. Enoch 33.1-2. (Forbes and Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II (1913), p. 451.)

[2] *Haereses*, V. 28, 3.

[3] Cf. Justin, dial, cum Tryph. Iudaeo, 81.

We have seen that Irenaeus emphasised the millennial banquet. The same thought is to be found in Christian additions to the *Testament of Isaac*[1]: 'The Lord spake to Abraham: let him give the hungry bread to eat. Then will I give him a place in my kingdom. He will take part from the very first hour in the millennial banquet' (8.11); and again, 8.19 f: 'He who writes out the testament of Isaac and shows compassion, and believes, will take part from the very first hour in the millennial banquet'[2]; and again the promise of 10.11 f: 'All those who show compassion in the name of my Isaac I will add to you in the kingdom of heaven. He will be with them in the very first hour of the millennial banquet. In eternal light they will be able to make merry in the kingdom of our Lord and our God and our King and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

This millennial teaching was not unopposed. *Justin* had had to answer those who held that there is no resurrection but an immediate ascent of the soul to heaven. But according to

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[1] P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Scrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (1928), p. 1145 f; Test. of Isaac, 8.10.

[2] The idea of the reward derives from Luke 14.12 f. It is paralleled in Irenaeus.

Justin the orthodox belief is that there will be a millennium and the resurrection of the body, and that the scene of the millennium will be the restored and beautified and extended Jerusalem of which the prophets speak (Dial. c. Trypho 80). Quite naturally, Justin did not refer to the millennial reign in his apologies. It would have been a mistake to tell the Emperors of the approaching overthrow of their kingdom and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven—which might easily have been construed as subversive and revolutionary. Irenaeus, too, had had to refute allegorical interpretations of prophecies which he himself referred to the millennium (*Haer.* V, 35, 1).

A little later *Tertullian* found it necessary to defend the millennial hope against *Marcion*, who denied that the Christian can have any hope for a world created by the Demiurge. The Demiurge as the God of the Jews would restore the Jews to Palestine, and there they could set up their own Messianic kingdom.[1] But for Tertullian Christians too have an eschatological hope for this earth and for this age: 'Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, sed ante cadum, sed alio statu, utpote post resurrectionem in mille annos in civitate divini operis Hierusalem caelo delata, quam et apostolus matrem nostram sursum designat et politeuma nostrum, id est municipatum, in caelis esse pronuntians alicui utique caelesti civitati eum deputat. Hanc et Ezechiel novit et apostolus Ioannes vidit. Et qui apud fidem nostram est novae prophetiae sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem civitatis ante repraesentationem eius conspectui futuram in signum praedicavit.' He then claimed that in one district of Asia Minor the new Jerusalem had been seen hovering in the morning sky for forty days. The millennium would be followed by the bliss of heaven. The reason why Tertullian finds the millennial hope so necessary is in order that Christians may be rewarded on the very scene of their suffering and striving. When Marcion refers the saying about the Messianic banquet to the joys of heaven, Tertullian points to the realism of the words: 'Interea qui cenae istius vocationem in caeleste convivium interpretaris spiritualis saturitatis et iocunditatis, memento et terrenas promissiones vini et olei et frumenti et ipsius civitatis aeque in spiritualia figurari a creatore.'[2]

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[1] Tertullian, *adv. Marcionem* III.24.

[2] ibid. IV.31.

The doctrines of the hellenistic spiritualisers opposed by Tertullian were very similar to those of Marcion. Characteristically, they dissolved Biblical eschatology by postulating a present dualism of heaven and earth corresponding to that of the present and future aeons. In this way, too, they could explain away the Biblical doctrine of death and resurrection —and not without a specious appeal to the NT itself. Death corresponded to unbelief and heathenism, the resurrection to the dawn of a true knowledge of God: all based upon the hellenistic mysticism of the oneness of the soul with God: 'Mortem esse ignorantiam Dei, per quam homo mortuus Deo non minus in errore iacuerit quam in sepulchro. Itaque et resurrectionem eam vindicandam, qua quis adita veritate redanimatus et revivificatus Deo, ignorantia morte discussa, velut de sepulchro veteris hominis eruperit: quia Dominus scribas et pharisaeos sepulcris dealbatis adaequaverit. Exinde ergo resurrectionem fide consecutos cum Domino esse, cum eum in baptismate induerint.'[1] It was this very doctrine—with its identification of the first resurrection with the resurrection from sin in baptism—which was later to prevail in millennarian interpretation. But it was now anathematised by Tertullian: 'Vae, qui non, dum in carne est, cognoverit arcana haeretica, hoc est enim apud illos resurrectio. Sed et plerique ab excessu animae resurrectionem vindicantes, de sepulcro exire, de saeculo evadere interpretantur, quia et saeculum mortuorum sit habitaculum i.e. ignorantiam Deum vel etiam de ipso corpore, quia et corpus vice sepulcri conclusam animam in saecularis vitae morte detinet.' If John had thought of the first resurrection in this way he could not have specified that there would be 1000 years between the two resurrections.[2] According to Tertullian the two resurrections would both be at the end of the age, with the millennium between them.

But unwittingly, and against his will, Tertullian helped to discredit the millennial hope by joining the Montanists. These ecstatic and rigorist groups were waiting for the New Jerusalem to come not merely to the earth but to Pepuza, the centre from which the rule of Christ would spread to the whole world. Tertullian claimed that even the heathen had seen it hovering in the sky.[1] Believers would be resurrected in order of merit and live in this city. The millennium would be followed by the destruction of the world, the general resurrection, and the last judgment. Passages like Gen. 27.28 and even Matt. 6.33 were adduced in favour of this view.

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[1] *De resurrectione carnis* 19.

[2] Cf. Tert. *de res. carn.* 25.

It is interesting to note that as against Rev. 20 Tertullian was expecting the heavenly Jerusalem as part of the millennium. In this he was obviously following a Jewish tradition first encountered in 4 Esdras 7.26, 10.26 f, 53 f, 13.26 (cf. Tob. 13.11 f; Ps. Sol. 17.26 f; Sibyll. V. 420 f).

It was not unnatural that in the fight against Montanism and rigorism the Church suppressed this eschatology altogether, although to its own hurt. The battle against Judaism and its Messianic hope had a similar outcome, for this hope, too, had its millennium, and many Jewish traditions had found their way into millennarian teaching. In the battle against Marcion it was also remembered that Marcion had allowed the Jews a Messianic kingdom on earth. By the end of the second century, then, Chiliasm had been severely harmed by fanaticism and Judaism. But it was now to suffer a new blow. Building on the Apocalypse the Gnostic *Cerinthus* taught a new and sensual Chiliasm. Eusebius has preserved a short account of it by Gaius.[2] Claiming that he had received his teaching from angels 'he falsely pretended . . . that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ, and that the flesh, i.e. men, again inhabiting Jerusalem would be subject to desires and pleasures. Being also an enemy to the divine scripture, with a view to deceive, he said that there would be a space of 1000 years for celebrating nuptial festivals.' And according to *Dionysius of Alexandria* Cerinthus taught that 'the kingdom of Christ would appear on earth' and 'that it would consist in the satisfaction of the stomach and of even lower organs, in eating and drinking and nuptial pleasures, and, with a view to making a better impression, in festivals, sacrifices and immolations'. Gaius and Dionysius were perhaps exaggerating, but even so the Chiliasm of Cerinthus seems to have been markedly realistic. Cerinthus was one of the first exponents of the so-called *chiliasmus crassus*. Inspired perhaps by some of the Old Testament prophecies, he seems to have expected a restoration of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem: another approximation to Judaism. And his doctrine of the resurrection was more that of Judaism than of the NT, for during the millennium marriage was presupposed. These points aroused the suspicions of his opponents, but the spiritualisers were not at all the champions of a truly Biblical doctrine, but were merely fostering another error.

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[1] Cf. Tert. *adv. Marc.* IV.24; Epiphanius, *Haereses* XIL.1, which contains a relevant prophecy of Priscilla.

[2] *Historia ecclesiastica* III.28.

Cerinthus met with even more radical opposition, for the *Alogi* were not content merely to refute his teaching, but claimed that the Apocalypse itself was simply a fabrication of Cerinthus. It was to the Apocalypse that Cerinthus had appealed, and the rejection of Cerinthus involved the rejection of his authority. And since the Logos doctrine was not favoured, and the Montanists had discredited St. John's Gospel by their appeal to the Paraclete, the Gospel could be rejected too. *Gaius of Rome* was one of the first to question the authenticity of the Apocalypse,[1] and his main argument against it was Chiliasm. Gaius hesitated to work out his theory, which has come down to us in the amended form given it by Dionysius. At any rate we know from *Hippolytus*[2] that Gaius did try to expound Rev. 20: the book was important enough to merit exegesis. The portion given by Hippolytus has reference only to the binding of Satan, but both the exposition and Hippolytus' refutation have more than local significance. Gaius says: 'Satan is bound according to the saying (cf. Matt. 19.29): "How can anyone enter into the house of a strong man and spoil his goods except he first bind the strong man?" Christ entered into the house of Satan and spoiled his goods, that is, believers. The binding of Satan is therefore past. Satan has been bound already by the coming and the work of Jesus.' We see here the second aspect of all non-eschatological interpretations of Rev. 20: they presuppose that Satan has already been bound by an act of Jesus, and that he will continue bound. Differences arise only in respect of the date of the binding. Exegetes who cannot accept this view will argue like *Hippolytus*: 'If the devil is bound, how is he able to deceive and persecute and plunder? If you say that he is bound before believers, how was he able to approach Christ who never sinned?[1] And if he is bound, why did Christ teach us to pray that we should be delivered from the Evil one? And if bound, how could he ask for leave to tempt Simon and the apostles? How could he test and hamper the disciples? As it is written, "we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with the principalities and powers of this dark world" (Eph. 6.12). If he is bound, he cannot take to arms, or snatch away the seed sown as in the parable of the seed (Matt. 12.30). The meaning of the words "He bound the strong man" is that he convicted and shamed those that would not come to him by opposing the devil and cleansing them from his work and making them the children of his Father. This is proved by what follows: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad" (Matt. 12.30). The devil, therefore, is to be bound at the end of the age and cast into the abyss at the coming of the Lord, as Isaiah said: "The wicked shall be taken away, that he may not see the glory of the Lord" (Isa. 26.10, LXX). And the time given is not in days, but denotes a glorious and perfect day in which the Lord comes in glory with his martyred saints and creation is resplendent according to the saying: "The sun will shine double" (cf. Isa. 30.26) and the righteous will eat with him and drink of his vineyard. In the words of David, "This is the day that the Lord hath made" (Ps. 118.24). Therefore when John had an inward vision of the glory of that day, he compared it to a 1000 years, according to the text: "One day in the world of the righteous is as a 1000 years" (?). The very figure shows that it is a perfect day for believers. And when he says that after a 1000 years he will be released and deceive the nations, it means that he will be rightly released and cast into the lake of fire, being judged with those who gathered with him when he gathered the strangers of the kingdom of Gog and Magog.' Hippolytus places the millennial hope within the schema of a universal week of 7000 years. Christ came in the year 5500, which means that for Hippolytus some time had still to elapse before the millennium began. We have to admit that this exegesis of Rev. 20 was much closer to the text: the Bishop of

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[1] Dionysius later found that Papias spoke of two Johns, the 'disciple' and the 'elder'. He concluded that the disciple wrote the Gospel and the elder the Apocalypse, thus making both canonical, but relieving John the son of Zebedee of responsibility for the Apocalypse.

[2] Fragment VII of Hippolytus' chapter against Gaius. According to Theodoret (*haeret. fab.* II, 3) Hippolytus wrote a work against Cerinthus.

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[1] Cf. John 14.30.

Portus Romanus was feeling after a Biblical eschatology and a healthy Biblical realism equally far removed from fanaticism and sensuality on the one hand and from an evasion of the concrete statements of the Bible on the other. But he was very much a child of his age in his combining of the calculation of times and seasons with the millennial hope. He defended his position further in a work which has been lost: *ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.*

But such efforts were all futile. War was declared on Chiliasm by the Alexandrians *Clement* and *Origen.* Clement did not refer to it directly, but his thinking as a whole was unfavourable towards it. Origen was more specific and consistently hostile. It is not our task to outline the eschatology of Origen, but in his denunciations of Chiliasm we find some basic observations on the exegesis of Scripture and theology generally. For Origen the Chiliasts were visionaries, deluded fools, and what was worse, literalists. The millennium as they pictured it was in terms of the flesh. On the basis of the Old Testament promises, and perhaps after the manner of Papias, they painted it in strongly realistic colours. They looked for the rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem with gold and precious stones. The heathen would serve the people of God as slaves, ever wasting away in misery and want. Proof-texts adduced from the NT included Matt. 5.6 and 26.29. The Chiliasts also appealed to Luke 19.19: 'Reges se fore et principes arbitrantur sicut sunt isti terreni.' Against this Origen quoted 1 Cor. 15.44, that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God', and he also made the general observation: 'Hoc ita sentiunt, qui Christo quidem credentes, Judaico autem quodam sensu scripturas divinas intelligentes, nihil ex his dignum divinis pollicitationibus praesumerunt.'[1] We note again the customary charge of Judaism. The true Christian was the man of the spirit who had no such worldly expectation: 'Hi vero, qui secundum apostolorum sensum theoriam scripturarum recipiunt, sperant manducaturos quidem esse sanctos, sed panem vitae, qui veritatis et sapientiae cibis nutriat animam et illuminet mentem et potet eam divinae sapientiae poculis.' It may be noted that the nourishment is of the human soul and spirit, which is the means to reconstitute the divine image in man.

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[1] Origenes, *de principiis* II, 11.2.

This way to the heavenly Jerusalem is open not only to the wise and instructed but to all who exercise themselves in good works, who learn tastes and desires which are still lacking. In the fifth homily on Ps. 36 Origen explains that we become discipuli sapientiae in the kingdom of God in order not to delight in eating and drinking, and he says of the much quoted Matt. 5.5: 'Illa autem terra, quae in heareditatem iustis promittitur non deorsum sed sursum esse promittitur' (cf. Ps. 37.36). 'Nisi enim quis exaltetur et ascendat in altum et efficiatur coelestis, non potest heareditatem terrae illius consequi.' By 'the earth' Origen means here what we commonly call 'the firmament'. The whole hope of the Christian is therefore a hope of heaven: the earth is not worthy of a Christian's hope. But this meant a complete abandonment of the Christian conception of time. A Greek dualism of above and below replaced the NT contrast between this world and the world to come. Origen had also forgotten that the millennium is not identical with the kingdom of God, but is rather a transitional stage between the two worlds. The basic principle that Scripture must be interpreted according to the Spirit and not the flesh was a right principle, but Origen's application of it was disastrous, for he identified the spiritual with neo-Platonic philosophy. Yet Scripture itself remained, and this was sufficient to preserve the factual and historical elements from complete dissolution and to ensure the continuing possibility and even actuality of a true Biblical realism.

It was because of this that Origen had some Eastern opponents on this issue. We may mention *Methodius of Olympus*,[1] who occupied middle-ground between a Biblical realism and a Platonic spiritualising. For Methodius the seventh day of creation points to the universal millennial Sabbath. But their millennium had another type in the OT. After the exodus the Israelites wandered in the wilderness, reaching out to the promised land. Similarly Christians are pilgrims to the celestial city. But on the very border of Palestine the Israelites halted and kept the feast of tabernacles. In the same way, after the first resurrection, Christians will spend 1000 years with Christ on this earth. This being with Christ will be the true Sabbath, and after it they will enter heaven. But the style and background, even the form of the dialogue are patently Platonic, and Scripture is allegorised in such a way that it is impossible for a true realism to break through.

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[1] Cf. *Symposion* IX. Cf. E. Staehelin, *Die Verkündigung der Der Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi*, p. 208 f.

A more forceful Chiliasm was that of *Nepos of Arsinoe.*[1] He attacked the allegorising method of the Origenists and revived a true Chiliasm. This fact is highly significant, for it shows us that the exegetical choice was between allegorising and the rejection of the millennium on the one hand, and literalism and Chiliasm on the other. The third possibility suggested by Gaius was still unknown, and Tyconius had not yet appeared on the scene. Nepos won over the people of Arsinoe, but after his death Dionysius summoned the clergy and others, and after three days in which Nepos was refuted point by point the leader of the Chiliasts publicly declared himself convinced. It is instructive to read what Eusebius has to say about Nepos and his teaching: 'Nepos . . . taught that the promises given to holy men in the Scriptures should be understood more as the Jews understood them, and supposed that there would be a certain millennium of sensual luxury on this earth' (Euseb. H.E. VII.24). Once more the shibboleth is Judaism. Even the worthy Papias was lectured by Eusebius because of his strange reports that 'there would be a certain millennium after the resurrection, and that there would be a corporeal reign of Christ on this very earth, which things he appears to have imagined, as if they were authorised by the apostolic narrations, not understanding correctly those matters which they expounded mystically in their representations. For he was very limited in his comprehension, as is evident from his discourses; yet was he the cause why most of the ecclesiastical writers, urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by similar opinions, as for instance Irenaeus, or any other that adopted such sentiments' (Euseb. H.E. III.39). For Eusebius the millennial hope is 'mythology'—a charge which has been revived in our own time. As against Papias he lays it down that we must interpret the promise mystically which enables us to read into it the philosophy of the moment or anything that we desire.

If Dionysius imagined that he had destroyed Chiliasm he was much mistaken, for he found a new opponent in *Apollinaris*

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[1] *Haereses* LXXVII 36-38.

of Laodicaea. We know the millennial teaching of Apollinaris only from the accounts given by Epiphanius and Basil. According to Epiphanius[1] he held that during the millennium the resurrected believer will have the same form of life as now, and will keep the OT law, including circumcision, etc. The millennial kingdom will be an earthly paradise. Quite naturally, Epiphanius is strongly opposed to the judaising tendency, claiming that the law will have to be kept here and now if it is to be in force when Christ is present in the flesh. He quotes Gal. 2.3 f, Matt. 22.30, Luke 22.30 and Mark 14.24 in support of this view. His own belief is that when Christ comes He will free the Church from its present schoolmaster, i.e. the law. Those who desire that the rule of law should begin with the parousia are surrendering not to the lordship of Christ but to that of the 'elements' (cf. Gal. 4.3, 9). To put oneself under the dominion of the law is to fall from grace and therefore from Christ. The only eating and drinking envisaged by Epiphanius is that of heavenly food and drink. According to Basil[2] Apollinaris held mythical, or rather judaistic views (*μυθικῶς ουγκείμενα μᾶλλον δὲ ἰουδαικῶς*) on the resurrection. He thought that during the millennium there would be sacrifices in the temple at Jerusalem, the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision and the keeping of the law of meats. From these accounts we may conclude that Apollinaris kept to the letter of Scripture, that he did not try to evade the prophecies by spiritualising, and that he combined them with Rev. 20. His weakness was that he did not see how much of the OT law and promises had already been fulfilled by Christ (the Epistle to the Hebrews!). At this point his opponents could easily tear his teaching to pieces and condemn it as judaistic.

According to Gregory of Nyssa[3] Apollinaris found disciples in the sect of *Vitalius*, but with them Chiliasm disappeared from the Eastern Church. It perished because of its inherent weakness and exegetical uncertainty. Apollinaris fell into Judaism pure and simple, and left out certain central aspects of the NT message. The *usus* perished with the *abusus*. The Eastern Church did not feel the need for a positive, non-chiliastic interpretation of Rev. 20. This problem was to be solved in the

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[1] *Haereses* LXXVII 36-38.

[2] Epistula CCLXIII, 4.

[3] Epistula CII ad Cleodonium.

West. We resume the story in the West with *Commodianus*. He, too, incorporated the millennium into the schema of the universal week of 7000 years.[1] And he found in the first period, and the fall, an antitype of the last time in which Christ accomplished redemption (*Carm. Apol.* 791-6). Christians are raised again to the millennium and receive the divine promise. The coming of the heavenly Jerusalem is expected. Death has no more power over those who are raised, and there will be no more pain or crying or sorrow (cf. Rev. 21.4). The first to rise will be the martyrs of the age of Antichrist. In the millennium these will marry and have children. All the good things of the earth will be at their command. The climate will be mild and favourable. There will be universal peace, with no wars or rapine.[2] The city of Jerusalem will be 12,000 cubits long and broad and high, and it will reach up to heaven (cf. Rev. 22.16).[3] The tree of life will nourish the righteous (cf. Rev. 22.2). Here, too, there are certain judaistic features, but on the other hand it is significant that to fill out the picture Commodianus borrows features from Rev. 21, which deals with the new creation. The idea that resurrected believers will marry shows that he had not noticed the problem posed—and answered—in Matt. 22.30. For Commodianus the millennium is simply a return of the golden age: 'Aurea post facta veniet tibi saecula si credis, rursus ut incipias immortale vivere semper.'[4] It is preceded, of course, by the age of Antichrist, but the latter is overthrown by Christ,[5] the earth is purged with fire,[6] and everything that is evil is destroyed. In the Carmen apologeticum, the return of the ten lost tribes is linked with the Antichrist tradition.[7] This is obviously based on the OT promise that the lost tribes will return (cf. Ezek. 37, 15-28),[8] but in Commodianus it is given a judaistic colouring, as we may see from lines 959-61 of the Carmen apologeticum (cf. IV Esdras 13.46 f, and also the Apoc. of Elias 39.4). Commodianus then describes (962-82) how the ten tribes will praise God as they go. The earth is green before them, all creation rejoices with them, the springs gush out, the clouds shelter them from the sun, an angel of the Lord goes before, and no power can stop them because God Himself is with them. They can even take the riches of the peoples and carry them to the promised land. As they approach Antichrist flees from Palestine to the North, where he assembles his allies to fight against the holy people. What follows is based on Rev. 20.7 ff.

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[1] *Instructionum* II.39; *Carmen apologeticum* 45.791. [2] *Instr.* II.3.

[3] Cf. the exact parallel in *Or. Sibyll.* V.420 f, 433, of which the source is Jewish. The 12,000 paces naturally derive from Rev. 21.16.

[4] *Instr.* I.29. [5] ibid. II.1. [6] ibid. II.2. [7] *Carm. apol.* 941-946.

[8] It is impossible in this context to show how the return of the ten tribes came to be connected with the Antichrist and Gog-Magog traditions and the Alexander-saga. On these points see W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (1895), p. 64 f.

Associated with Commodianus in this hope is *Victorinus of Pettau*,[1] who also believed that the heavenly Jerusalem will come down to earth during the millennium. This is all to take place in fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, cf. Gen. 13.14 f, 15.18. The views of Victorinus are expounded in his commentary on the book of Revelation, which is the oldest surviving Latin commentary on this book. In an age of severe persecution the martyr of Pettau was obviously looking for a golden age of redemption when conditions will be reversed. But except for the expectation of the heavenly Jerusalem during the millennium he does not go beyond that which is actually promised in Rev. 20. From the descriptive standpoint his Chiliasm falls far short of that of Commodianus and Lactantius.

Lactantius is not content simply to expound Rev. 20, combining it with certain OT passages. He consciously adduces other prophecies, especially from Books 3, 5 and 8 of the Sibylline Oracles. He briefly describes the millennium in this way: 'verum ille cum deleverit iniustitiam iudiciumque maximum fecerit, ac iustos qui a principio fuerunt ad vitam instauraverit, mille annos inter homines versabitur eosque iustissimo imperio reget.'[2] Those who are alive in this age will not die, but will raise up a numerous and godly seed over whom the righteous will reign. In this kingdom the heathen will serve the righteous. Satan will be bound for 1000 years. Great changes will take place in the cosmos: there will be no darkness, the moon will shine like the sun, and the sun will be seven times more bright.[3] It will be an age of great fruitfulness: honey will drip from the rocks, wine and milk will flow in the streams and rivers (cf. Ps. 81.17; Joel 4.18). The dominion of evil will be broken, and the peace prophesied by Isaiah will rule in the animal-kingdom (cf. 11.6 f). Lactantius recalls that even heathen poets had sung of the golden age, their only error being that they put it in the past. He obviously thought that they had found their material in the prophets. The chief passage which he adduces is the 4th Eclogue of Vergil, especially verses 38-41, 28-30, 42-5 and 21 f. Centuries later Eduard Norden was to claim a relationship between Rev. 20 and this eclogue.[1] Lactantius was especially influenced by the fact that Vergil refers expressly to the Sibyls, but although Vergil is able to turn to good account these oriental and judaistic-OT motifs, the result in Lactantius is an obliterating of the distinction between canonical and non-canonical prophecy: a constantly recurring process amongst the Chiliasts. Lactantius looked forward to an assembling of the righteous from all parts of the earth, and the establishment of a holy state in which they would dwell. This state had been described by the Sibyls as the city which is 'more resplendent than the sun and the moon and the stars' (Orac. Sibyll. V. 42 f). We can easily understand why the opponents of Chiliasm always accused them of Judaism. Lactantius also resembled other Chiliasts in his literal interpretation of the OT. The prophecies have still to be fulfilled: we must not spiritualise them, or regard them as fulfilled already. The promises of a reign of glory and peace on the earth will find fulfilment only in the millennium. It was against this kind of literalism that Origen had brought his accusation that it involves an understanding of scripture 'iudaico sensu'.

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[1] Victorini Petavionensis opera, ed. J. Haussleiter (1916), cf. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 1895, p. 194 f.; cf. Staehelin, op. cit., p. 206 f.

[2] *Divinarum institutionum* VIII.24.

[3] Cf. Isa. 30.36—a passage which constantly recurs in descriptions of the millennium.

Jerome uses exactly the same argument.[2] He mentions all the Chiliasts, saying of Papias that he was dependent on a Jewish δευτέρωσις, i.e. the Mishna. For Jerome Chiliasm and Judaism are identical. He removes the very foundation of Chiliasm by spiritualising the Apocalypse. He hesitates to condemn the doctrine outright, for he can see that it was held by many Fathers. He himself, however, does not believe either in a millennial kingdom of Christ or in a restoration of Jerusalem and the Jews.[3] But he was not content merely to criticise, for he re-edited the commentary of Victorinus, a hazardous enterprise, as he acknowledges. He did it in order to expunge the Chiliastic conclusion, replacing it by a new and independent exposition. His exegesis of Rev. 20 is 'incredibly affected and artificial'.[1] The 1000 years are from the coming of Christ to the end of the age, the figure 1000 being 'pars pro toto'. The first resurrection is when the soul comes from the death of sin to faith, on the basis of Col. 3.1. But he overlooks the fact that in Rev. 20 the first resurrection is clearly the reward of martyrdom, and that the 1000 years are between the two resurrections. The pit into which the devil falls is the black heart of unbelievers, into which he is conducted when driven out of the heart of believers. The closing of the pit means that he is not allowed to accuse or to tempt the faithful, and the sealing of it that it is not known who belongs to God and who to the devil. Satan is not allowed to tempt the nations, that is, the Church which is drawn from the nations. He is bound for 1000 years, that is, the age of the Church. He will then be loosed for 3½ years, the short age of Antichrist. Concerning Rev. 20.6 Jerome says: 'I do not believe that the millennium is an earthly kingdom, for, if it were, they would cease to reign when the 1000 years have passed. But as far as I can understand it, the 10 represents the decalogue and the 100 the crown of virginity. If a man maintains his virginity, and faithfully observes the commandments, and keeps himself from impure habits, and from impure thoughts in the very depth of the heart, he is a true priest of Christ, and we may believe that as he has fulfilled the whole 1000 he will reign with Christ and that the devil is really bound before him. But if a man is led astray by blasphemies and heresies, in him the devil is loosed.' After the age of the Church the devil will deceive many, whose end is destruction. Then will follow the last judgment, the resurrection, and the glorification of the righteous.

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[1] Eduard Norden, *Das göttliche Kind* (1926).

[2] *In Isaiam*, proph. lib. XVIII, prooem.

[3] Jerome, *in Hieremiam*, proph. lib. IV, *ad Jer.* 19.10 f.

Jerome is even more outspoken in his commentary on Dan. 7.17, where he recalls Eccl. 3.20. It is here that we really see what his own view was. In 'de viris illustribus' and in 'In Isaiam prophetam' (lib. XVIII prooem.), he attacks the Judaism of the Chiliasts, i.e. all those who look for an earthly

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[1] Cf. W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (1896) in, Meyer's *Kommentar* 16.5, p. 66.

Jerusalem which will be resplendent with heavenly glory and in which the sacrifices will flourish and circumcision will be practised. For this attack his authority is Dionysius of Alexandria. But with his zeal for a genuinely spiritual interpretation of the eschatological hope, Jerome has to be careful that he does not lose the corporality of the hope of resurrection: 'Sicque recto incedendum est tramite, ut nec ad sinistram nec ad dexteram declinemus, id est nec iudaicum nec haereticum sequamur errorem.' The corporality of the resurrection body is guaranteed by Luke 24.38 f and John 20.27. To prove it, Christ ate and drank 'non quod post resurrectionem manducemus et bibamus, ut Milliarii nostri volunt . . . sed ut resurrectionis fidem ciborum assumptio comprobaret.'

The eschatological interpretation of Rev. 20 was decisively rejected by *Tyconius*,[1] but not in such a way that the eschatological hope itself was completely lost. Tyconius lived in a real expectation of the coming end, which he looked for in the year 380.[2] His view dominated the exegesis of Rev. 20 for the next 1300 years, mainly because Augustine took it over from his Donatist opponent and clothed it with his authority. In the form given it by Augustine it has had an influence which has persisted right up to the present time, especially in Roman Catholic circles. The following are the main points which Tyconius makes:

The millennium has reference to the present age, in which with divine help the saints are not overcome by sin. This is the first resurrection: from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. The second is the literal resurrection which is still future. The blessed who have a part in the first resurrection are those who are born again in baptism. The millennial rule of the Church will last until the end of the age. The twelve thrones are within the Church, which exercises a judicial office on its twelvefold apostolic basis. The throne of Christ's glory is the incarnation: it is in His incarnate body, to which the saints are added, that He sits at the right hand of power and rules in favour of the saints. His rule is now in the Church, in which everyone is called to penitence and mutual love. The rule is not future but present: not 'you shall sit and judge', but 'you shall sit, judging'. The souls of the righteous are those who die with Christ in present afflictions and death. The reference is necessarily prior to the resurrection, for only their souls are mentioned, and if a corporal rule was intended, martyrs would surely have a part in it. The millennial rule of Christ, which extends from His passion to His parousia, is shared by the dead as well as the living. Those who have a part in this kingdom do not bear the mark of the beast, but the divine image and likeness, the image in the body and the likeness in the soul. The past tense 'lived and reigned' does not mean that the millennium is over, nor does the future 'shall reign' mean that it has still to come: on the contrary, it has begun already with baptism and penitence. The blessed are those who maintain their baptism, for as the first death is due to sin, the first resurrection is by the remission of sin. Those who are forgiven are the priests of God who participate in His present rule. The figure 1000 years indicates that this is not the future rule of eternity, but the finite if perfect rule of the church-age, which will persist until the end of the world.

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[1] Cf. Traugott Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien* (1900).

[2] op. cit., p. 7, 13.

It was in this ethical and individualistic form, and with this contemporary reference, that *Augustine* (de civ. Dei XX.7) developed his millennarian teaching, although he mentions that he too had once understood the millennium as a universal Sabbath replete with spiritual joys.[1] The main reason why he had abandoned the eschatological interpretation was because of the wild exaggerations and far too crude ideas of the Chiliasts in their depicting of the millennium. In support of the new view taken over from Tyconius he turned to Mark 3.27, which he expounded in much the same way as Gaius before him: the strong man was Satan, his goods Christians, and he was bound in such a way as to be kept away from Christians and shut up in the abyss, the heart of the wicked. The 1000 years are either from the time of John to the end, or else they cover the whole of our present age. According to Augustine Satan is bound during the whole period from the birth of Christ to the parousia. He cannot deceive the nations of which the Church is constituted. At the end of this age he will be loosed to test the Church.

These views were accepted by all subsequent exegetes, for Victorinus (as worked over by Jerome), Tyconius and Augustine were the authorities which controlled the medieval exposition of Rev. 20. There were minor differences concerning the date when Satan was bound and the millennium began, but only cranks and heretics dared to put forward an eschatological interpretation. The result was that the hope of a future millennium came more and more under the suspicion of heresy. Today, it is admitted on all hands—except for a few Roman Catholic exegetes—that only an eschatological interpretation is consistent with the text. If the question is still open whether the hope is to be maintained or not, it will now be decided by other than exegetical and historical considerations.

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[1] Cf. Sermo CCLIX.2.

‘THE FORME OF MARIAGE’: 1562 AND TODAY

by THE REV. I. A. MUIRHEAD

IN The Divine Imperative, Emil Brunner has recorded this conviction: ‘The crisis in marriage is a wholly new phenomenon. It presents the Christian ethic with the most serious and the most difficult problem with which a Christian ethic has to deal. . . . What an ethic has to say on this question shows whether it is any use or not.’[1] That the problem is a serious one is clear from the frequency with which various aspects of it make ‘news’; that it affects all the churches and perhaps most urgently the national churches of this country is equally evident that many, even within the ministry of the Church of Scotland, are theologically unprepared for its discussion has been demonstrated in many Presbyteries in recent years; and it is clear too that, while discussion has hinged upon remarriage of divorced persons, this is only one side of a large, complex subject, very close to the practical work of the ministry and, for the most part, as yet theologically unexplored. The lack of serious discussion of marriage is in striking contrast to the discussion of baptism, yet, as a matter of practical concern for ministers and people it surely ranks at least as high in urgency. At the moment one cannot hope to do more than introduce some aspects of marriage for discussion on a theological level.

Historically the usage of the Church of Scotland goes back to the introduction of the Genevan Service Book at the Reformation. It was not to be expected that the lads and girls of 1560 would postpone their weddings until the Reformers had set all to rights and decided on the future practice of the Church. In many places the priests continued to marry in the traditional way. Where a reformed pastor was available, it was at his own discretion that he chose a form of marriage service, though it is clear that that of Geneva was an early favourite. The use of this was soon confirmed by the General Assembly, at whose meeting in December 1562, it was 'concluded, that ane uniforme order sall be taken or keeped in ministratioun of the Sacraments, and the solemnizatioun of Mariages and Buriall of the Dead, according to the Kirk of Geneva.'[1] This had been available in English, in a Geneva printed edition, since 1556. A second English edition, without place or printer, appeared in 1561, and the following year Robert Lekprevik printed a third in Edinburgh.[2] In 1564 the General Assembly ordained that all its ministers, readers and exhorters were to possess a copy of the Psalm Book recently printed in Edinburgh, and to use the order contained therein.[3] This book, printed by Lekprevik with some financial assistance from the Assembly, and bearing the date 1565, was now the official standard of the Reformed Church.[4]

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[1] E. Brunner, *The Divine Imperative*, p. 340.

Among the antecedents of the Genevan Service Book we may note the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI,[5] the service book prepared for the congregation in Frankfurt by Knox, and Pollanus, *Liturgica Sacra*, 1551.[6] A comparison of it with the present day Book of Common Order suggests that we might still learn from it, and will introduce some of the topics which require closer theological consideration. In what follows there is first a brief general comparison of the two Orders, and then a more detailed examination of the 'exhortations' contained in each, with an indication of some of the theological points involved.

For the purpose of comparison the main heads of the two marriage services may be set out side by side.[7]

The Forme of Mariage	Order for the solemnisation of Marriage
Rubric	Rubric
	Praise
The Exhortation	Exhortation
Charge to couple	Charge to Congregation
Congregation called to witness	

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[1] *The Booke of the Universall Kirk* (Maitland Club), i, p. 30.

[2] Knox's Works (Ed. D. Laing), 4, pp. 149-57.

[3] *The Booke of the Universall Kirk*, i, p. 54.

[4] Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 199. C. G. McCrie, *Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, p. 104, n. 22.

[5] McCrie, loc. cit. pp. 373 ff.

[6] A. F. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, pp. 123-7.

[7] References to 'The Forme of Mariage' are to Knox's *Works*, 4, 198-202.

Charge to Congregation	Charge to couple
	Prayer
The Vows	The Vows
	The Ring; declaration and the Blessing
Admonition	
Scripture (Matt. 19)	Scripture (Choice of Eph. 5; 1 Cor. 13; 1 John 4; John 15)
	'The minister may add some words of counsel'
Blessing ('in this or suche like sorte')	Prayer
	Praise
Psalm 128	Benediction.

In the introductory rubric to 'The Forme of Mariage' two points are made. There must be threefold proclamation of banns—this had been enacted in Scottish Church Statutes since the thirteenth century,[1] and 'parties assemble at the beginning of the sermon'. Marriage takes place not as something by itself, but as a part of the public worship of the Church, the congregation of which is at a later point called to witness the marriage vows about to be taken. This suggests for consideration a matter on which the emphasis has varied from time to time. The Lords and Barons, in the articles proposed to the Queen Regent, ask for an explanation 'in the Inglis toung to be first shewin to the people at all times . . . when Baptism and Marriage are solemnizit . . . in the face of Halie Kirk,'[2] but there is other evidence, for example the constantly repeated enactment that there must be present a sufficient number of trustworthy witnesses, which suggests that then, as now, it was often regarded as a private affair, sometimes indeed so private as even to ignore the Church's blessing.[3]

It is in contrast to this that the Genevan Order re-emphasises marriage as something concerning the Christian community; 'in the face of His congregation', 'before God and His holy congregation', 'before God and in presence of this His congregation' are some of the expressions used.

Here then is one of the matters which require discussion and consideration, since our contemporary marriages range from four pagans and a minister to the marriage of two leading members of the congregation with everything that etiquette, a far more potent power than Scripture or theology, demands. How far is the Christian community involved in the marriage of its members?—in the marriage of those who are not its members?

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[1] D. Patrick, *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, p. 39.
[2] ibid., pp. 157-8. [3] ibid., pp. 39, 64, 72, etc.

On further comparison of the two forms, there appear two notable omissions from the earlier one. There is no mention of a ring, and prayers are reduced to a three-line blessing. The giving of the ring had no place in the Frankfurt order,[1] and I do not know of any direct evidence for it in the pre-Reformation marriage service. At least it is not mentioned in the relevant chapter in *Hamilton's Catechism.* The omission of the prayers may well be due to the nature of the Form—not a service complete in itself, but simply an addition to normal divine service.

Considering now the exhortations in detail, we find that of the Genevan order consists of a catena of Biblical passages, in some cases compressed and summarised, with interspersed comments and applications. After a passing reference to Heb. 13.4 which still remains in the marriage service, we have a lengthy summary of Gen. 1.27, 28*b*, 2.18, 21.23. 'God fashioned man after his owne similitude and likenes . . . He said, It is not good that man lyve alone; let us make hym an helper like unto hym selff.' Then follows the creation of Eve, with the comment, 'doying us thereby to understand that man and wife are one body, one fleshe and one blood'. A marginal note refers to the Hebrew words 'Isch and . . . Ischa; whereby is wel expressed the natural affinitie betwixt Man and his Wife.'[2]

Now these Scriptural passages are fundamental to any understanding of Christian teaching on man and woman. It is the most startling omission and gravest defect of the present Book of Common Order that the theological richness of these verses should have been baldly reduced to the phrase, 'marriage is a holy estate instituted by God'. The absence of clear reference to Gen. 1.17, 2.18-25 is a serious defect in the theological effectiveness of the declaration in current use, and some observations on these verses may not be out of place here.

It seems reasonably clear that, in the early Church, these verses were taken as determinative, and, in so doing, the Church was being guided by remembered words of her Lord. In Mark 10.7-8 and in the parallel Matt. 19.4-5 Jesus combines these two Genesis sections as the basis of His teaching on marriage relationships. The Epistles contain evidence, worked out in detail by Selwyn[1] of a basic training of catechumens, which included instruction in Christian duties in such relationships as master and servant, parents and children, and husband and wife. This latter appears in 1 Pet., Col., Eph., 1 Tim., Tit., and for the most part consists of simple practical injunctions, but at one point, in Eph. 5, we get some indication of the theological substratum of the teaching, and here again we find Genesis figuring, probably not directly used, but via the remembered application of it by Jesus.

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[1] McCrie, loc. cit., p. 376.

[2] Knox's *Works*, 4, 198

These verses then are the starting point of a Biblical theological discussion of marriage. Of Gen. 1.27 Brunner says: 'On account of this one statement alone the Bible shines out amongst all other books in the world as the Word of God.'[2] The whole section is so important for the rethinking of Christian Marriage, and so largely ignored in the Church of Scotland Marriage Service, that we must spend some time on it.

We have in this passage the Biblical approach defined very clearly in opposition to the naturalistic, atomistic approach. The latter sees the genus homo, like the rest of animal nature composed of individuals some of whom have male and some female urges. These complement each other and in the union of male and female is contained the continuity of the race. This is for the naturalist the raw material out of which a theory, or a natural theology of marriage is to be constructed. For example Berdyaev, who appears to take a starting point of this sort, sees human kind as 'sick, wounded, disharmonious creatures, primarily because they are sexual, i.e. bisected, beings who have lost their wholeness and integrity'.[3] For him the situation is summed up in the androgyne myth of Plato, in which man and woman are the torn halves of an ideal whole, and according to which the spiritual urge which seeks satisfaction in marriage is the urge towards the ideal androgynous entity. For this the procreation of children, and the family as a sociological unit are irrelevant, in fact more than that, they are offensive, and in accepting them as necessarily involved in the love of man and woman, the herdman has adapted the Gospel to his own ends.[1]

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[1] E. G. Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter*, Essay II, particularly pp. 419 ff.

[2] E. Brunner, *The Divine Imperative*, pp. 345-6.

[3] N. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man*, p. 84.

For Berdyaev, the physical offends his gnosticism, the sexual his bourgeois puritanism, and the duality of the sexes his monism; so he seeks, by means of the Platonic myth, to transcend the human situation. In this attempt he demonstrates once again that if you start with the natural, you end with the unnatural; if you begin with the naturalistic datum of mere sexuality, you end with a romantic love theme, falsely spiritualised and deprecating the physical.

Against this stands the Bible. The approach through the individual and his urges is set aside, for God is not revealed as the Creator of assorted individuals out of whose physical and spiritual urges towards completion some sort of structure of life must be composed. Humanity appears in the Bible as a family, 'male and female created He them'. In Gen. 2.18 man is declared by God to be incomplete, and it is by the will of God that he is completed in his partner: 'it is not good for man to be alone; I will make an helpmeet for him.' In the A.V. this significant phrase is obscured. It is כְּנֶגְדּוֹ. נֶגֶד is the front of anything, the part next the spectator, and with the preposition it is used of things set against each other in comparison, or of things which answer to each other. Hence Wilhelm Vischer translates 'as his confronter'.[2] Man is given an equal in creation, set towards him in a double relationship of help and confrontation, the living embodiment of God's loving care for man's well-being. We have not a man's world, nor a woman's world, but a world in which God has placed man and his confronter, man and woman in the order of marriage. In this close relationship of confronter-confronted each finds a Thou to his I, and, next to the I-Thou relationship in which man is set *vis-à-vis* his Creator, his most intimate, and, in its possibilities, richest situation in which he finds himself is the I-Thou of husband and wife.

After laying this foundation in Genesis, the next section of the Genevan Exhortation is based primarily upon Eph. 5

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[1] N. Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man*, pp. 294-306.

[2] W. Vischer, *The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ*, p. 55.

linked with the foregoing. Its opening phrase, 'signifyinge also unto us the mysticall union that is betwixt Christe and his Churche' is almost literally repeated in the Book of Common Order,[1] but what do bride, bridegroom, witnesses or wedding guests make of it? In any case, taken in isolation, as it is in the Book of Common Order, it suggests a faulty exegesis of Ephesians. The point of that passage is not that marriage signifies the mystical union between Christ and His Church, but, as the earlier form brings out quite clearly, that the love of Christ for His Church is the standard of marriage, the husband ought to love his wife 'even as owr Saviour loveth his Churche . . . for the which he gave his liffe'. Thus if the phrase in the Book of Common Order, 'consecrated as signifying the mystical union between Christ and His Church', is to be taken as a reference to Eph. 5, it is not exegetically correct, and if it be taken as a general reflection on Scripture teaching regarding marriage that it is its typological significance which consecrates it, then it is surely equally at fault.

The section in Eph. brings us to a kind of problem which, because the issues it concerns are alien to the atmosphere of modern social custom, is very apt to be glossed over. It makes a definite claim for the headship of the husband in the home. They had no sensitiveness here in 1561!

> It is the wives dewtie to studie to please and obey her howsband, servyng hym in all thynges that be godlie and honeste; for she is in subjection and under the governance of her howsband.

It is a point upon which every age will be specially liable to have its interpretation controlled by the prevailing social customs. But ought we not to give some consideration to what the Apostle writes? In Ephesians the question turns largely upon initiative, Christ loved and gave, and the question of initiative does arise within the marriage bond. You do not have two identities, bonded by sex, but a created pair with complementary psychology and functions. Even on the natural history level the husband is the one on whose initiative home and family depend; he is turned towards the outer world, the wanderer, the hunter of wives and of food. The woman is concerned with maintenance, with what is, with preserving home and family.[1] Within such a committee of two (albeit with powers to add to their number) there must be a casting vote and it is clear where that naturally lies. Unless there were some Christian wives trying to claim equality with their husbands, most of the readers of this epistle would have no quarrel at all with the statement that the husband was the head of the house, and the force of the Epistle is not in its defining who is head of the house, but in defining how that headship ought to be exercised—after the pattern of Christ's initiative towards His Church.

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[1] The phrase is repeated word for word in the Form of Solemnisation of Matrimony in the Book of Common Prayer.

The great superiority of the Book of Common Order to its 1928 predecessor in its preamble to the marriage service is its clear statement of the purposes of marriage. The third of these, that which concerns 'the welfare of human society' could be criticised as lacking sufficient scriptural authority to deserve a place in the service; and perhaps the first two could be criticised as failing in point of communication, but the obscurities of their language can be remedied in the minister's premarital talks with bride and bridegroom for which they are a useful starting point.

We have dealt briefly with the idea of confrontation, but there is another relationship involved, that by which the help confronting man is at the same time one flesh, to the exclusion even of the closest ties of parenthood. This is not only a spiritual but a physical unity. 1 Cor. 7.4 is the passage referred to in the Genevan form, and it will be considered more fully later. Alongside this 'companionship, help and comfort, which husband and wife ought to have of each other', the Book of Common Order places as its second reason 'the continuance of the holy ordinance of family life'. This appears in the earlier form thus: God has 'knytt theym together in this mutuall societie to the procreation of children that they should bryng theym up in the fear of the Lorde and to the increase of Christes kyngdom.' This is scriptural enough, although the multiplicamini of Gen. 1.28 is modestly unmentioned. God not only ordains marriage for men and women, but ordains that in it should be the source of the increase of the race. Whereas man might have propagated like fish, or flies or foxgloves, in God's created order human propagation finds its place within the 'confrontation-belonging together' of husband and wife.

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[1] E. Brunner, *The Divine Imperative*, pp. 350-6.

With this there are other Biblical passages which might be associated. The OT promise to Abraham was a marriage promise, the promise of a seed in which the nations would be blessed.[1] This thought runs through the OT presentation of the marriage of God's people. From the mere fruitfulness of Genesis, the goal of marriage becomes the fruitfulness of God's flock, the increase of the Chosen Race,[2] and the line of thought continues into the NT where, e.g. in 1 Cor. 7.14, the children of believers are called 'holy', i.e. they belong to the New Israel. Hence for Christian thought marriage means more than starting off the next generation in a good home; it is the means of the increase of the Church. One might embroider this theme with a consideration of the extent to which the Church has, as a matter of historic fact so often recruited its apostles, saints and leaders, not from sheer paganism, but from piety. The relation of Christian home and future Church finds its place not only in the two marriage orders which we have been considering and in the Book of Common Prayer where the second 'cause for which matrimony was ordained' is similar in conception and phrase but in the prereformed Catechism of Hamilton, in which the 'secund cause' of matrimony is declared to be 'generatioun and educatioun of barnis to the service of God'.[3]

So far we have found considerable common ground, but in the closing paragraph of the Genevan Order we pass to matters which find no place in the marriage service today. Here we find yet another reason for marriage, one with good scriptural grounds, and yet one which we do not today find it easy to present. The basis of it is to be found in 1 Cor. 7, and whether or not it can be so phrased as to find a place in some future revised service, it is very important that we should consider it now. It is common ground for Roman and Reformed thought. Thus *Hamilton's Catechism*: 'The third cause of matrimony was, eftir the fall of Adam, to eschaip the syn of fornicatioun quhen men hes nocht the gift of chastitie, and to use the pleasure of the body in the honestie of marriage';[4] and so too in the

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[1] Gen. 22.17-18. [2] Jer. 23.3.

[3] *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism* (Ed. Mitchell), Chap. xiv, fol. clxiv.

[4] ibid., loc. cit.

Genevan Form: 'Therfore to avoyde fornication every man oughte to have his owne wyffe and every woman her owne howsband, so that so many as can not lyve chaste are bownde by the commandement of God to mary.'

The difficulty with this third reason is that the phrasing of it alike in 1 Cor. 7, and elsewhere, e.g. in Calvin's *Institutes*,[1] leaves it difficult to avoid the conclusion that marriage is rather a regrettable second-best, imposed by human weakness, and, surprised by St. Paul's dubious commendation of it, 'it is better to marry than to burn . . . nevertheless to avoid fornication let every man have his own wife', the Christian reader no doubt sometimes turns the page with misgivings. There are phrases in Calvin which makes the reader wonder how far he regarded celibacy as the Christian ideal, and marriage as a poor alternative forced by man's inability to do better.

Yet rightly understood Paul and Calvin present a different picture. 1 Cor. 7.1 has to be interpreted as being what the Corinthians had written, part of an appeal for guidance. They knew the gnostic suggestion that the material, the bodily, was itself evil, so they ask, What are the alternatives? Is one caught in the dilemma, either successful total abstinence from the flesh, or fornication, whether or not this latter be presented as 'marriage'? Paul's reply worked out in the following verses amounts to this. They have presented a false dichotomy. There is a worthy exercise of sex and that is within the bonds of marriage.

With this Calvin is in agreement. Speaking of presumptuous vows, he writes, 'the first place of insane audacity belongs to celibacy . . . they hear the voice of God concerning the universal condition of mankind. It is not good that man should be alone. . . . How can they presume to shake off the common feelings of their nature? . . . In such perverse conduct they must not expect God to be their helper. It is to tempt the Lord to strive against the nature implanted by Him, and to spurn His present gifts as if they did not appertain to us.'[2] God may set some in a class by themselves by special grace, but for the rest, 'let no man tell me he can do all things God helping! The help of God is present only with those who walk in His ways, that is in His calling, from which all withdrew themselves, who, omitting the remedies provided by God, vainly and presumptuously strive to struggle with and surmount their natural feelings.'[1]

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[1] Calvin's *Institutes*, Book 2, Chap. 8, Sect. 41-3.

[2] ibid., Book 4, Chap. 13, Sect. 3.

Presented with this reason for marriage in the form 'to avoid fornication', the architects of our modern marriage service have quietly dropped the matter. But that is not the only alternative, and it might not be impossible to devise an order which would do justice alike to Scripture and to reformed thought. The issues raised are certainly very relevant to a species of modern gnosticism involving a modern theological distinction and a modern psychological conception. The distinction is a familiar one, that between *Agape* and *Eros*. It has to do with far more than sexual love and not all who use it are agreed in what they mean by it. Nygren, with whose writings the distinction is generally associated, describes *Eros* as 'desire, ego-centric love', and says of *Agape* that it is 'of a wholly different nature. It has nothing to do with desire and longing.'[2]

Faced with this distinction what is one to make of marriage? Are we to allow sexual love to fall into the realm of *Eros*, making Christian married love a form of *Agape*? We are not far from gnostic undertones. We are reduced to reading 1 Cor. 13 at the wedding and leaving the rest to the telegrams and the tipsy guest.

For of course *Eros* intrudes, and in a euphemism of the *Arabian Nights*, borrowed by Eric Gill, 'the Child wakes'[3]. Does someone now suggest sublimation? 'Sublimate your sex instinct!'[4] No doubt the advice is at times necessary and possible, but it can also take us on to dangerous ground. If we exclude *Eros* from Christian concern, no amount of sublimation will get it in. We can indeed sublimate *Eros* into a religion with some superficial resemblance to Christianity, intensely passionate, often puritanical, but it is a gross error to call that grace. It is not a religion of grace that results, but something demonic. Sublimated *Eros* is a fickle and dangerous religious propellant, and ought not to be taught as the Christian be all and end all for sex.

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[1] Calvin's *Institutes*, Book 2, Chap. 8, Sect. 42.

[2] A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, Pt. 2, pp. 19, 20.

[3] E. Gill, *Autobiography*, p. 221.

[4] Cp. Berdyaev, loc. cit., pp. 83-4. 'The great task of man has always been not to destroy but to sublimate sex . . . Man sinks low overcome by the unregenerate force of sex, and rises high through sublimating it.'

Here is just where the realism of the Bible and of the Reformers is what we need. Paul's argument is virtually an argument against despising sex, or against unwisely attempting its sublimation. Both do violence in the long run to the purposes of God for humanity. Why should a man 'burn'? Why should he lay himself open to the temptations of sex, as though there were any value in celibacy for its own sake? God has provided the impulses, and the place for their exercise. *Agape* has its place in Christian marriage as in all Christian conduct, but it is not *Agape* which characterises the marriage as Christian. That must involve the recognition of the place of sex in the creation, plan and purpose of God, but in its details it is another of those facets of marriage so badly in need of theological discussion and clarification.[1]

[1] A recent and valuable contribution from an Anglican standpoint is D. S. Bailey, *The Mystery of Love and Marriage*.

CHRISTIAN VOCATION IN THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

by The Rev. WILLIAM STEWART

1 *Cor.* 12.4: 'Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.'

At this time when the Church is passing into the centre of the missionary enterprise, the World Dominion Press have reissued a powerful book first published in 1927: *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, and the Causes which Hinder It*, by Roland Allen. The passionate argument of this book seems to have been little heeded by the 'Missions' which then dominated the scene. It deserves a better hearing now. Assuredly the Church must think and think again before it will be satisfied that it must simply take over and perpetuate the pattern of work hitherto familiar.

The book is full of trenchant criticism of the Mission policy which has become so entangled in elaborate machinery that its very organisation has sometimes threatened to supplant the Gospel itself. We have here an almost prophetic warning against that magnifying of our instruments in buildings and institutions which has transformed the dynamic Mission of the Church into that impressive immobility symbolised by the name 'Mission *Station*'. The service rendered in that station has indeed commended itself frequently to secular authorities who are in no way moved to accept the Gospel commended through it. The nemesis of the system would seem to be foreshadowed when such authorities ask that it be maintained but after the removal of the offending evangelistic aspect.

The Essential Gospel

As we read on, however, we are overwhelmingly reminded that all this does not become the preaching of the Gospel. For that preaching is emphatically not the setting forth of our achievement, nor is it the elaboration of skilled argument, but always a bearing of witness, a telling of men about the mighty Acts of God. This has been the evangelism of every vital period of Church history, an evangelism rich in the harvest of changed lives, and transformed society. It is the evangelism of the New Testament: 'We have beheld and bear witness that the Father hath sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world' (1 John 4.14). It is by the giving of this message, though it be by the lips of the weak and unlearned of the world, that it has pleased God to bring men to Himself. Indeed, St. Paul rejoiced that it should be through the weak things of this world, 'that no flesh should glory before God' (1 Cor. 1.29), that the very wonder of God's power and gracious purpose should shine the more clearly. The giving of this witness is the supreme task of the Church.

Much perplexity today is seen in the simple fact that this note of the victory of God is not the dominant note that we hear now. In Christian circles we rather hear anxious debate about the future of our institutions, distress about inadequate staff and finance, troubled questioning about how standards will be maintained. No truly forward vision will be recaptured by the Church until it realises with new and burning clarity that the message is not that of the adequacy or inadequacy of its own life and service, but is altogether and only its witness—to what God has done in Christ.

How the Situation Developed

In the modern missionary movement the Gospel was carried by persons who belonged to a civilisation with a material standard of living markedly higher than the great majority of those to whom they came. These missionaries found conditions of human need which stirred them with compassion, and convinced them that they must as Christians labour to bring help and enlightenment as well as to preach the Gospel. Some of them indeed even concluded that the Gospel itself could not reach people in such great poverty and ignorance, but that a preparation must be made offering the benefits of western civilisation in at least a rudimentary form. This conclusion implied the truly astonishing assumption that when a man is in distress material help can do something for him, but the redeeming power of Christ can help him only when he has been raised a little. This is in flagrant contradiction with the Gospel itself which records that Jesus sent John, the message: 'the poor have good tidings preached to them' (Matt. 12.5). Even the missionaries who did not commit the grave blunder of thinking they could themselves help before Christ could do so, did feel convinced that, in face of so much need, they could not confine themselves to 'mere' preaching but must also serve their brothers. So the call to supporters to send and maintain more missionaries was combined with urgent humanitarian appeals for the means to help and heal and instruct. The response was large, and the outcome that impressive pattern of institutional work which will go down in the record as one of the great fruits of the Christian faith in action.

The Confusion of the Purposes

We need not doubt that both the evangelistic fervour of the missionaries and the service they rendered in face of great need were a response to Christ's call, but later perplexities have arisen because, forgetting that there are 'diversities of gifts' and varied services of God, those concerned thought of the two as really one and the same. The genuine response to need was represented as *an instrument of evangelism* and damaging confusion entered. The reason, of course, was that, for many of the missionaries, the primary impetus had been to seek souls for Christ and their supporters were keenly interested in this. These same missionaries now found themselves deeply engaged in all sorts of teaching, healing and other services and felt they must justify the development by seeing this activity as their evangelistic method. In addition they were, of course, convinced that they had not really given their best to those they served unless they brought them to Christ. The pattern of so-called 'indirect evangelism' evolved and in some missionary societies became so established that practically all their missionaries found themselves claimed by it, and informed that they must fulfil their task of evangelism by these varied means. In consequence, today the problems of 'Integration' schemes constantly turn round plans for the maintenance of the institutions concerned.

Perplexities

The situation has aroused many perplexities.

There is perplexity in our relations with those of other faiths to whom we have constantly to explain the complex purpose of service which has 'evangelism' as its ultimate purpose. This can also embarrass the relations of a Christian worker with his non-Christian colleague.

There is perplexity among supporters of the missionary enterprise who are still largely interested in conversions. Such persons, for instance, are apt to ask how many baptisms a Christian College has led to in the last year or so, and despite an elaborate answer which explains a kind of evangelism which does not necessarily issue in baptisms, they are apt to feel it all adds up to a very complicated and expensive system for meagre results. Certainly, such supporters also respond to a plea for succour for those in need, but, when this is identified with a purpose of evangelism, they are uneasy lest their missionaries may be making 'rice Christians' and that they know to be wrong.

There is perplexity for the missionary in the sheer burden of maintaining the institution, especially when so much is forced into an administrative pattern prescribed by Government and involves endless office routine. This can irk any professional person, but the uneasiness is especially acute for the person who is by vocation an evangelist: The assumption that this is the way evangelists should work has led some authorities to refuse to appoint a woman evangelist at all unless she has some professional skill. It has also led to the assumption that the village worker must have an occupation to prove to his neighbours that he is a useful person and not a mere preacher.

Finally, there is deep perplexity for the person who has come to render skilled service in the conviction that there is urgent need for it and that this is his response to his Master's call. He finds himself constantly checked in the whole-hearted exercise of his vocation by the reminder that he must use his opportunities for evangelistic purposes. This can cause real distress of mind and even conflict of loyalties. He is sometimes driven to the expedient of claiming that by maintaining a high professional standard he can commend to men the truth of the Gospel which he believes. Yet in his heart of hearts he longs to forget himself in wholehearted exercise of his gifts and resents the question applied at every turn: 'How does this fit in with evangelism?'

Surely there is something amiss with a system which entails such widespread uneasiness.

The Crisis of the System

Today this whole system has run into a serious crisis. The field is not now clear for Christian institutions. Governments set the pace for education and public money provides hospitals of modern standards beyond our means. Staffs are hard to recruit whether from India or from overseas, and shortage of funds becomes chronic. Yet, because we are still fascinated by the thought that our service, of a standard to command general respect, must remain our way of witnessing, a note of something like desperation enters the appeals for staff and funds. It is here that we have that atmosphere of anxiety which can only be justified by the fear that the Ark of the Lord may fall; and just at this juncture the Church with integration-plans prepares to shoulder the burden, but is perplexed as to how it can do so without radical alteration of its own machinery.

May it not be that it is the very hand of God which is forcing us to re-think a policy which held a fallacy in the very heart of it? He is telling us by our sheer failure that we have been confusing the fruit of the Gospel with the means of proclaiming it. Service in Christ's name is the fruit of the Spirit. We have been offering men 'all these things' in the faith that somehow or other the Kingdom would be added to them. So the hand of God is laid upon it all to overturn this unreal structure, to warn us that not by this means will men be brought to salvation. This service is altogether not the Gospel of God and was never meant to be used as a means to an end.

Why not 'Indirect Evangelism'?

The truth is that the theory of 'Indirect Evangelism' can be maintained only in face of formidable criticism from without and within.

The criticism from without is the irritated disgust of the non-Christian at methods which he considers scarcely honest, namely the attempt to win confidence by an act of service and then the exploiting of that confidence to propagate a doctrine. We may protest that this is a caricature of a loving purpose, but we cannot expect one of another faith to see it otherwise.

Far more profound is the criticism from within the Faith itself. Surely we could have learned from our Lord Himself that He would not win men by bread nor by a sign to overawe them. When the crowd came after Him for bread He turned them back with hard sayings; those who asked a sign He abruptly refused; to men whom He healed He gave the strict command that they tell no one; He accepted the way of rejection and the Cross. In an impressive chapter, Roland Allen rivets our attention to the first paragraphs of the first Epistle to the Corinthians in which the apostle declares that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and he is resolved to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

Certainly, that God has many times used a saintly life and unselfish service to draw men to Him, no one could deny, but here we touch a paradox. The more truly devoted Christ's servant is the more sharply he recoils from the very idea that what he does can be such as to draw men to the Saviour and the more will his conscience protest against any self-conscious planning of service to make men attend to his message. His service must be a spontaneous self-giving and any use of it which God may make is entirely in God's hands. There is indeed something intolerably arrogant about the very thought that we can plan or execute a piece of work which by its own quality will demonstrate the Gospel. It is a thought from which we recoil with dismay when we realise the implications of it, and this all the more so when we remember the pitiful failures of our work, spoilt so often by selfishness, pettiness and jealousies, which sometimes men of other faiths must come and help us mend. The Master's life and service led on to the rejection of Calvary. How had we dreamed that we should be more successful, and win men by service which men must honour?

> Let me not subtly slide into the treason
> Seeking an honour that they gave not Thee.

Christian Vocation

Deliverance comes in the realisation that service gladly given as the outcome of Christian vocation requires no further justification. The Christian sure of his calling to dedicate his gifts to some particular service makes this his response to the love of Him who first loved us. The Lord commended the example of the Good Samaritan, He healed the sick because He was 'moved with compassion,' and He taught that the test on Judgment Day will concern how we bore ourselves to the needy. This is the Lord who still calls men to varied service among their brethren. Such service is the fruit of His redemptive act and is never to be paraded. It is to be given in all simplicity and not that it may be seen of men. The Christian label, flourished in men's faces to prove how wonderful are the results of the Faith must be offensive not only to men of other faiths but to the Master Himself who said, 'see thou tell no man'.

This does not, of course, mean that the Christian doctor or teacher is under compulsion to be silent about his faith. Such restraint is not tolerable by anyone with a living faith within him. He has news which he cannot but share. We are reminded of Dr Schweitzer who, when appointed a missionary, had promised to be 'as dumb as a fish', confining himself to service, but soon found he could not be so. No one who cares for his fellowmen will be content or satisfied till he sees them receive the wondrous peace of Christ. Gandhiji himself, who bade the missionary be as the rose silently diffusing a perfume, *wrote* week by week in the *Harijan* his messages, and latterly *spoke* day by day even over the radio at his daily prayer meetings. No less can be expected of the man who knows whom he has trusted, even Jesus Christ.

This evangelistic task is that which belongs to every Christian, and it is here that Roland Allen so powerfully shows us that it is this witness-bearing obviously springing from sincere conviction which carries an authority denied to the mere professional. One is compelled to ask whether such a witnessing might not be more effectively done by the Christian worker *not* attached to an institution labelled Christian, and certainly it is a task not for one or two but for every man. Two of the most effective evangelists the present writer has known were one a coal miner and the other a maid servant. The first hewed coal to the glory of God and the second was single heartedly convinced that God had sent her to wage unremitting war on all manner of dirt and untidiness. Both told their friends what God had done, and both were used to win others to Christ. In such witness bearing the Christian doctor or teacher or agriculturist will assuredly share, but nothing but good and relief of spirit will come from the realisation that this witness is not dependent on the success or failure of the service which he is rendering.

The question must arise as to how much of the varied service we have been familiar with must in the future be deliberately organised and supported by the Church. That the need for such work will continue for many a day there can be little doubt, and so long as the need is there Christian men and women will respond to its call. It is essential, however, that Mission Boards which collect funds for such work should clearly represent to their supporters the nature of the work supported, and no longer appeal for such funds by representing such service as a *means of evangelism.*

More important is the necessity that the Church should help the Christian worker who is not able to work in a distinctively Christian institution to realise that he too can just as fully make his service a daily offering to God as if he were in such an institution. Just as the Christian factory worker can fulfil a Christian vocation alongside others who do not share his faith, so too can the Christian doctor or teacher. Certainly there is a joy and a strength in working in an institution maintained by those who share a common faith, yet even if tomorrow it ceased to be possible to maintain such institutions this will not close the door on the exercise of Christian vocation.

Indeed it is just at this point that the life of the Church can intimately enter the lives of all Christian workers and that of a much wider range than has been customary under the familiar pattern. For the Church should recognise and help to a deeper understanding of their vocation all its doctors and nurses, and not only those employed in its institutions. They can be drawn together for common prayer, discussion and study of the Bible, returning to their service with deepened consecration. But this also will be possible for Christian farmers and for Christian policemen, for Christian officials and Christian labourers.

The Vocation of the Pastor

Within this community, which will vary vastly according to the place, in city and in village, among the learned and among the simple, there is an abiding need for the service of the pastor.

Here we must agree that Roland Allen has convincingly shown that the pastor must really belong to the people, and it is impressive to read from the pen of an Anglican missionary what amounts to a powerful argument for the congregational element in the united Church that is to be. For he makes it abundantly clear that the living Church, even in a small and remote village, must be a Church which has within itself the means of life so that it be a living, growing cell, and that the aid that is given from without must never be of such a kind as to transform a spontaneous life and witness into a feeble dependence. This commands us to beware lest we so act as to suggest that impossible standards of education or material prosperity are essentials for the life of the Church, and requires that the 'training of leadership' which today is receiving so much emphasis be that of a leadership which really belongs to the people and is not so imported and supported as to cut the nerve of the community's own spontaneous life.

The pastor, whether voluntary or full-time, has a God-given responsibility to teach and guide his people and lead them forth in the evangelism which is their function. But this does not mean that he is himself to usurp the congregation's function as evangelist. These considerations must compel us to ask whether again we have not been in error, forgetting the 'diversity of gifts' in so often identifying the function of the pastor with that of the evangelist. Indeed, if, by our attempt to plant in the midst of congregations persons who are paid to go out among the people telling the Gospel story, we have done anything to turn aside the people themselves from the necessity to preach, then indeed without delay we must rid ourselves of this simony.

The Liberation of the Evangelist

Wherever the Church is to be found, the Church itself is God's chosen evangelist. The layman in secular employment has a message for his friend which God will abundantly use. But there are still vast tracts of India where the Church is not to be found, and just as in the days when the Gospel had not crossed the seas, God called some to be evangelists, so there are those today who know the same vocation. The evangelist must be set free.

Of course, his is the work which seems most bizarre and unjustifiable in the eyes of the world. It is not new nor surprising that the preaching of Christ crucified and risen should lead to a tolerant smile on the face of the non-Christian, or that non-Christian authorities should be puzzled as to the usefulness of this purveyor of strange tales. What is, however, strange and deeply disturbing is that the Church itself seems to find the evangelist hard to understand and that missionaries should be perplexed about a colleague whose existence is not justified by his good works, but who confines himself to declaring the works of God. The evangelist with the call burning in his heart has no problem as to how to fill his day. His is a calling which has reckoned in its ranks a John Wesley, a Francis Xavier, a Sadhu Sundar Singh, who burned themselves out preaching Christ. The ancestry traces back to St. Paul, with his 'woe is me if I preach not the Gospel'.

The Church which has no place for this evangelist has refused one of God's gifts and we are compelled to ask whether one other sign of the present crisis, namely the dearth of recruits to the work of some of the older Societies, at the same time as various younger bodies find more recruits than they can use, may not be an outcome of this great refusal. For these younger groups are sure at least that the primary function of the Evangelist is that he preach the Word of God.

The Church dare not take such an evangelist and chain him down as pastor of a congregation, lest the congregation cease itself to feel the call laid upon it. Still less may it chain him to institutional 'indirect evangelism' subject to all the perplexities we have seen. He is to be liberated, given freedom to tramp the roads and the lanes and bear his witness where the Message has not yet been heard. It is clear enough that we are here not concerned with the hireling but only with the man utterly certain of his vocation, who will gladly accept such support as the Church can give him.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM LUND ?

by THE REV. PROFESSOR T. F. TORRANCE

ALTHOUGH most of the early reports of the Conference of *Faith and Order* held at Lund expressed disappointment and sometimes even depreciation of the work undertaken there, it is becoming increasingly clear that quite another verdict must be given. Lund marks the end of an old era in ecumenical theology, and the beginning of a new era in which we have the promise of a development in modern times that may well correspond eventually to the development of ecumenical theology in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The end of an old Era

It soon became evident during the conference that theological differences were of such a kind as to cut across the face of all the churches represented, so that no church through its own peculiar tradition was able to exert undue influence upon the course of events, and no one church emerged as the rallying point for the whole Conference or even promised to be a core for future integration. On the contrary, wherever churchmen and theologians tried to stress their own traditions unduly, they found those traditions along with their intransigeance elbowed into a corner. That fact caused great anxiety among some from both sides of the Atlantic, and from both sides of the Reformation, Continental and Anglican. For a while it even appeared that the effect of Lund would be to increase the denominational tensions, and yet that must be looked upon as a temporary reaction upon the part of some to the major fact that real ecumenical theology had taken the field and was asserting itself with power and spirit.

For the first time in a conference of this kind all the great doctrines of the faith were taken for granted, in the sense that there was no serious challenge to them, to Christology or to Christological Eschatology, for example. Even the proverbial tension between American and Continental theology largely faded out before the understanding and power of men like Calhoun, Outler, Lehmann, Trinterud, and others, while representatives from the younger churches, notably from India and Ceylon, helped considerably to quicken theological sympathy and to bridge many gaps in misunderstanding, without losing the spontaneity and power which Western compromise inevitably seems to involve. There can be no doubt, however, that what really brought about this situation was *the rising tide of Biblical theology*, and on that basis a deeper understanding of, and more general sympathy for, the classical theology of the first six centuries and of the era of Reformation. To find great patristic learning in Professor Calhoun, and Calvin's language on the lips of Professor Florovsky, were but two indications of the theological interpenetration that is going on among theologians, but what has made that possible is the concern of theologians to think out together the doctrines of the faith on the basis of Biblical study.

It also became clear at Lund that the old methods of *Faith and Order* procedure had not carried us as far as we had hoped, though they had done yeoman service by digging out the differences between the churches and helping within certain limits to break down some of the misunderstanding between different traditions. But this continual comparison and contraposition of different ecclesiastical traditions in frank discussion of their widest and deepest differences can actually help to harden the differences, for so long as this is the major procedure in conferences of *Faith and Order* proper theological procedure and actual theological growth are suspended. Whatever conference-procedure *Faith and Order* adopts, it must allow room for a theological procedure analogous to the nature of theological truth, for only in that procedure can there emerge a real growing together of different theological traditions.

The great value and ultimate failure of the old procedure of *Faith and Order* were evident in the three preparatory volumes of the Commission. In all of them there had been a remarkably clear contraposition of the different theological traditions in regard to Church, Worship, and Sacrament, and there was little point in going over all that ground again. The Conference began by attempting to do that but soon realised that the continuation of that procedure only ends in its stultification, and then theologians sought, with varying success, to find a way of penetrating behind these differences and to adopt a theological procedure by means of which these differences might even be cut away. What was wanted was a theological method whereby we could think together our one faith in the one Christ, beginning with the very centre, with Christ Himself, and proceeding on this Christological basis seek to think through our differences in regard to Church, Worship, and Sacrament. Already the character and results of the preparatory volumes make this a clamant necessity, for in trying to adopt the traditional conference-procedure as theological procedure, they had failed to provide any real basis for discussion at Lund, and there was a good deal of anxiety on the part of the Old Guard and even accusations of despair when it was found that theologians had at times to start almost from scratch. That was most apparent in one of the commissions on the Church which found that the Report on *The Church* even under the *Mode of its Definition* had failed to define the nature of the Church in terms of its essential relation to Christ as His Body.

The same tendency, many felt, marked the preparatory material on Intercommunion, and indeed continues to mark the Lund Report, in a hesitation to get down to bed-rock, to a proper theological basis and dogmatic procedure for the whole discussion of Intercommunion as a 'problem' within the one Body of Christ—although when looked at in that light it is essentially a false problem, as our Orthodox friends were not slow to point out. In regard to the volume on Worship, and here again in regard to the Lund Report, there was certainly evidence of a marked growing together of the divergent emphases, but little real penetration to the fundamental issue as to how we are to conceive theologically the relation between the heavenly liturgy and the earthly liturgy. It may well turn out that the real difference here is not a difference in Christ but a difference in Plato, that is, a non-theological factor. Certainly it was within this commission at Lund, largely under the impetus of Professor D. M. Mackinnon, that the ideas thrown out with such vigour and clarity by Obendiek and Hromadka about non-theological factors in our discussions were taken up and thought through into an important contribution. Here is an issue rising out of the Lund conference that must be pursued with great vigour, for clearly it will yield much fruit particularly in certain fields of discussion such as that between Lutherans and Reformed in Germany where non-theological factors are a notorious obstacle to understanding, or between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England on questions of the ministry where non-theological factors going back to Tudor and Stewart roots still obscure the issue on both sides.

In looking back upon the old era of *Faith and Order* it becomes apparent that while the conferences have provided the opportunity for encounter between theological representatives of the different churches and while there has been considerable advance in understanding of, and sympathy for, other traditions, the positive advances have been achieved not primarily because of anything done within the *Faith and Order* movement but because of the massive Biblical scholarship of our day and the rise of a great positive theology upon that basis. That Biblical thinking has everywhere been ready to step into the yawning differences revealed by the conference-procedure, and without any deliberate programme provided by those who plan and guide the conferences, has wrought a remarkable change in spite of the increasing realisation of how deep our differences really go.[1] The time has now come, however, when this must no longer be left to chance. Consciously and deliberately *Faith and Order* must adopt a proper theological procedure in discussion through which the vast material available in Biblical studies can be used to enormous advantage in getting behind and undermining the differences which still divide us within the one Body of Christ on earth. The Conference at Lund marks not only the end of an old era but the beginning of a new era partly because it took the first decisive steps in this direction. That the services of Oliver Tomkins with all his remarkable foresight and wisdom are still available to the commission of *Faith and Order* is the best augury for the future.

The Beginning of a New Era

The two main suggestions which appear to have emerged at Lund are: that we should start from the centre of the Christian faith, from the doctrine of Christ, and in thoroughly Christological terms think through the doctrines of the Church, Ministry, and Sacraments; and that a serious attempt be initiated to study Church Tradition, and in that light to examine the divergent historical traditions of the different churches.

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[1] There should not be forgotten here the remarkable work done by the *Study Department* of the *World Council of Churches.*

(1) 'Because we believe in Jesus Christ we believe also in the Church as the Body of Christ.' That is surely a proper starting-point for a doctrine of the Church, the common faith in the one Lord. And that is now increasingly possible because Biblical studies have been forcing the churches back to deeper appreciation and fuller understanding of the classical Christology of the Ecumenical Councils. The attempt to formulate a doctrine of the Church as part of the doctrine of Christ is not new, for it was made in the fifth century, though the first great attempts had to wait till the Reformation when it was Calvin particularly who sought to give thoroughgoing expression to the doctrine of the Church in terms of the analogy of Christ. Indeed the whole movement of the Reformation may well be regarded as a Christological criticism of the notions of Church, Ministry, and Sacraments as they had developed through the Dark and Middle Ages in strange detachment from the high Christology of Nicaea and Chalcedon.

The time has come to undertake this task again, and to set forth in truly dogmatic form the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ. That the Church is the Body of Christ is no mere image or metaphor. It is essential reality, though there are many Biblical images which must be drawn into the orbit of the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ, for they have been given in order to enrich and deepen and widen our understanding of 'this great mystery concerning Christ and His Church', and we cannot do without them. Biblical studies during the last twenty years have yielded an enormous amount of material on this very subject which ecumenical theology will have to examine carefully, and which promises to be of the greatest help in dogmatic reconstruction. In our day too the whole question of the analogical relation between Christ and His Church has undergone the most ruthless scientific searching and criticism particularly at the hands of Karl Barth, and is yielding results of such magnitude that many are only beginning to appreciate them through works like that of Hans Urs von

Balthasar: *Karl Barth, Deutung und Darstellung seiner Theologie.* When we speak of the Church as the Body of Christ we do not mean a relation either of identity or of difference between Christ and His Church but an analogical relation in which there is no relation of proportion but only of similarity (and dissimilarity) of proportion. But it is clear that no discussion of this analogical relation in itself can get us anywhere, if it is divorced from its true substance and content in the Incarnation, for in the strict sense, as von Balthasar is ready to say, it is Christ Himself who is the *analogia entis*. That means that the analogical relation between Christ and His Church must be thought out in terms of the hypostatic union of the two natures in one Person, and indeed in terms of the *inconfuse*, *immutabiliter*, *indivise*, *inseparabiliter* of the Chalcedonian formula.

At this point, however, we must remember that the Church is the Body of The Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, who rose again and ascended to the right hand of the Father, and who will come again to judge the quick and the dead. The Church is not the Body of the Trinity, nor the Body of the Holy Spirit. There was much confusion in certain quarters at Lund about this. Certainly it is clear that no true doctrine of the Church can be formulated which is in any sense divorced from the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, or from the doctrine of the Spirit, but it is as the Body of Christ alone that it can be formulated. The relation of union between the Church and Christ is grounded on the consubstantial communion of the Holy Spirit between the Father and the Son, but the material content of that relation of union is given by the Incarnation of the Son of God. The 'divine nature' of the Church is not God, nor the Spirit, but the *Word made flesh*, who is True God and True Man. The new humanity of the risen Christ belongs to the 'divine nature' of the Church. Thus the doctrine of the Church must be thought out in terms of a triangular relation between the Church and the historical Christ, the risen and ascended Mediator, and the Christ who will come again in His full Humanity as well as Deity.

There can be little doubt that when the Church in the fifth century began to think out the doctrine of the Church in terms of the agreed Christology of the Ecumenical Councils she was seriously hampered by the fact that full and true emphasis upon the historical Christ had not recovered after the staggering blows administered to it by the rationalistic notions of *Logos*, nor had the doctrine of the Spirit been given full place, though after the Nicaean affirmation of the true Manhood of Christ the doctrine of the Spirit began to come to its own. But the doctrine of the Spirit continued to suffer from the rationalist notions of *Logos* and tended to develop in terms of Ecclesiology and not primarily in terms of Christology. With the loss of the full emphasis upon the historical Christ went also a loosening of the Church's hold upon the doctrine of Atonement, so that even the doctrine of the person of Christ in the ecumenical formulations came to be affected, for it was not stated in terms that were sufficiently dynamic, in terms of the mission of Christ. That was corrected to a certain extent by the doctrine of the anhypostasia and enhypostasia of Christ, but it still remains true that the whole doctrine of the hypostatic union needs to be rethought in terms of the death and resurrection and second advent of Christ.

At no time in history has the Church been in a more favourable position to do that than today, if only because of the enormous recrudescence of the Biblical emphasis upon the historical Christ, and His risen humanity. Along with that has come a rediscovery of Biblical eschatology which is the doctrine of the Ascension and Return of the risen Christ as true Man as well as true God, which carries with it a renewed emphasis upon time-relations because of the renewed emphasis upon the resurrection of the Man Jesus, and the resurrection of the body in Him at the last day. It is this Biblical theology even more than the classical Christology which will keep true our understanding of the analogical relation between Christ and His Church. Two facts in particular will have to be emphasised. (*a*) The relation between Christ and His Church is the *irreversible* relation between the Head of the Body and the members of the Body. That relation of irreversibility belongs to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit through whom alone the Church is given to participate in Christ and be His Body, and through whom the Church is given continued being only as servant of the Lord. (*b*) The relation between Christ and His Church is the relation between the First-Born of the new creation and the body which still waits its redemption, although sealed by His Spirit and given already an earnest of its inheritance yet to be revealed. The Church on earth is still 'the body of sin' although in the amazing grace of Christ it is justified and sanctified in Him. The Church is at once the Body of Christ, and yet awaits for the day when its union with Christ will be fully consummated, when at last it will be presented to the Lord as a chaste virgin. Until then the Church on earth is the waiting Church of sinners under judgment as well as grace, and is called to perpetual renewal through conformity to Christ, and to look beyond its historical forms to the full unveiling of its new being in the coming Lord.

If the substance or content of the analogical relation between Christ and His Church is the doctrine of Christ Himself, the relationship involved is to be formulated in terms of the doctrine of the Spirit and Eschatology. In this way I believe the Church of our day will be able to do something that has never yet been done in the whole history of the Christian Church: give full dogmatic formulation to the doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ. The way is certainly wide open, and if *Faith and Order* is prepared to undertake this task seriously, it will do something second only in theological importance to the Christology of the early Fathers or the Reformation. Should this be undertaken by *Faith and Order*, now operating within the World Council of Churches, it would give the World Council of Churches an *ecumenical* significance parallel to that of the *Ecumenical Councils*.

(2) The other suggestion arising out of the Lund conference is equally significant: the study of our different traditions in the light of Tradition (with a capital 'T'). All sorts of questions arise here as we place tradition alongside of tradition in the historical development and divergence of the churches. Why does the Orthodox Church ignore so many canons of the Ecumenical Councils, for surely the canons and the dogmas belong together? Why do Anglicans in their claim to revere the Fathers stress only certain canons and refuse to consider others? Out of such a comparative study there emerge many interesting facts of prime significance. For example, as Calvin sought to 'restore the face of the Ancient Catholic Church' he resurrected long-neglected canons of the Ecumenical Councils and reformed the Church accordingly, so that in the Reformed

Church again and again it is obedience to Tradition that makes it differ from the traditions of the Orthodox Church or the Anglican Church!

There can be no doubt that such a historical and comparative study of traditions will be of great help in the ecumenical movement, although it must be clear that if this study is to be only historical and comparative, it will not lead very far, and perhaps will only lead back into the dead-end which *Faith and Order* found in its old procedure at Lund. In certain fields such a study can be of peculiar interest and fruitfulness, as in Scotland where a joint study of the common tradition of the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland, particularly during the years 1560-72, cannot but bring closer understanding, especially if this is carried through in the light of the rediscovery of Tradition at the Reformation. But the two major factors must be borne in mind here if this kind of study is to be really helpful: (*a*) The whole understanding of Tradition is undergoing remarkable change in the light of modern Biblical and Patristic study, a change parallel to that in our understanding of *kerygma*. True *paradosis* is *kerygmatic* as well as sacramental—Calvin also could speak of the *traditio corporis* as taking place through the sacraments. But it is important to see that that *traditio corporis* takes place through the whole kerygmatic continuity of the Church. (*b*) The understanding of Tradition cannot be separated from Church dogma. In other words this historical and comparative study of traditions must not be divorced from the dogmatic study of the Church as the Body of Christ in history; nor must the dogmatic study of the Church be divorced from the growth of the Church 'in the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that henceforth we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love may grow up into him in all things, who is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.' The growth of the Church as the

Body of Christ and the growth of the Church into the Mind of Christ belong together inseparably. They may be distinguished but must never be divorced.

Two factors must be clearly stressed here. (1) The true form of the Church in history is at once dogmatic and ecclesiastical. There can therefore be no fruitful discussion of the form of the Church as the Body of Christ in history which is divorced from the dogmatic form of the Church. Through the Word of God the Mind of the Spirit gives the Church conformity, in its growth into truth, with the Mind of Christ. (2) The relation between the dogmatic and the ecclesiastical forms of the Church, the inner form and the outer form, as it were, must be thought out, not in static terms, but in dynamic terms of growth into the fulness of Christ. And that growth must be thought out and be expounded not only in terms of teleological development but in terms of eschatological fulfilment, for the growth cannot be formulated in terms of a biological organism but in terms of the death and resurrection of Christ. The pattern of the Church's life in history is essentially cruciform, for it bears about in its body the dying of the Lord Jesus that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest. In other words, the forms of the Church in dogmatic and ecclesiastical convolution and mutual criticism are also apocalyptic, for the Church grows into the fulness of Christ in the overlap of the ages, and in that overlap the perfect pattern of the Kingdom and the perfect form of the new creation act creatively and critically upon the forms of the Church in history, so that in so far as they participate in the fashion of this present evil world, they are summoned to perpetual transformation in the risen Christ.

All this is of the utmost importance for ecumenical discussion today both for the light it casts upon our several traditions in the light of Tradition, and for the searching questions it directs at the several traditions as Tradition itself is seen in the light of the coming Christ who says '*Behold I make all things new*', and so calls them to look beyond their historical forms to the perfect pattern of their life in Him the risen Lord. It is above all in the Orthodox Church that we see the unity of the dogmatic and ecclesiastical forms of the Church, but there the relation between the dogmatic form and the ecclesiastical form is, in the main, statically formulated, and the Orthodox Church does not appear in consequence to have grown much since the early centuries. That is partly due to a failure to relate the doctrine of the Spirit adequately to the doctrine of the Son as *crucified* and *coming again*, as well as risen and ascended. The Roman Catholic Church also claims to have an essential unity between the dogmatic and the ecclesiastical forms of the Church, and claims that it has grown to maturity, but in this case the development of the Church has been conceived only as teleological growth, and eschatological fulfilment is being more and more repudiated with every promulgation of new dogma. This church claims to be *ex sese irreformabilis*, which can only mean that its pattern of development has ceased to be cruciform, that it has ceased to allow itself to be transformed through the death and resurrection of Christ by the renewing of its mind, and so has ceased to put off the old man and to put on the new man which after God is created in the righteousness and holiness that grow out of the truth. At the Reformation these issues were subjected to Christological criticism, but again the churches of the West began to diverge. The Lutheran Church paid little serious attention to ecclesiastical form, content with the forms of the world it found ready to hand so long as they left room for the Gospel, and the result was that they concentrated so much on dogmatic form that the Lutheran Church has become the most confessionalist church in the world. The Anglican Church on the other hand left the dogmatic form almost entirely to one side and contented itself largely with clinging to the continuity of ecclesiastical form without undertaking seriously continuous dogmatic activity as strenuous obedience to the Mind of Christ. Here there is an astonishing divorce of the ecclesiastical form from the dogmatic form of the Church. The Reformed Church under the influence of Calvin sought on the other hand to allow the dogmatic and ecclesiastical forms of the Church to interpenetrate each other in obedience to the Word of God, and so to restore in doctrinal and ecclesiastical form the face of the Ancient Catholic Church. And yet it was in this Reformed tradition that Schleiermacher arose who thought of the dogmatic and ecclesiastical forms of the Church in such immanent integration that for him theology was little more than a systematic attempt to read the Mind of the Spirit off the historical experience and living consciousness of the Church—-and we have something like a return to the romantic theology of Rome.

The recent conference at Lund has made it very clear that we can no longer remain content with any of these historical treatments of Tradition. We must take in earnest the essential unity of the Church as the unity of the *One Spirit* and the *One Body* of Christ, and seek to allow the Church as it listens again to the Word of God to be transformed by the renewing of its mind, in order that it may grow up in the unity of faith unto a perfect man in Christ. It is in our understanding of Biblical theology that we must examine again the historic dogmas of the Tradition of the Church, and seek to let the doctrine of Christ criticise and reshape the whole form of the Church so that we may grow together under judgment and grace, in the power of the Holy Spirit, into the likeness of Christ and into the stature of His fulness. Only as the churches of the ecumenical fellowship seek to think into each other the dogmatic and the ecclesiastical forms of the Church in strenuous obedience to Christ from year to year, and only as they are ready to look beyond their historical forms, dogmatic and ecclesiastical, to the full unveiling of their new being in the coming Lord, will they grow in unity and in the love which remains when all earthly and historical forms, even faith and hope, have passed away. Decisive theological steps in this direction of unity in and through faith in Christ seem to have been taken at Lund. May this be the beginning not only of a new era but the beginning of actual unity among the churches. 'For to what end did Christ come', asked Calvin once, in his great Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (10.25), 'except to collect us all into one body from that dispersion in which we are now wandering? Therefore, the nearer His coming is, the more we ought to labour that the scattered may be assembled and united together, that there may be one fold and one Shepherd.'

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE SACRAMENTS[1]

by THE REV. F. C. SYNGE

THERE are few doctrines which Christians handle with less assurance than the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The major causes of this embarrassment are a failure to think Biblically and a failure to think Trinitarianly. We confess a Trinitarian creed, but we think as Binitarians. One symptom of this error is the frequent interpretation of the Holy Spirit's work in terms of inspiration.

God is always at work among and upon and in men. Works of mercy, works of art, fine and noble achievements of men, these are all certainly inspired by God. But if we use the Church's language of the Holy Spirit in connexion with inspiration we are dangerously watering down the Christian Gospel. For the work of the Holy Spirit in the NT is always that of declaring in one way or another that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. In the background, if not in the foreground, of any mention of the Holy Spirit there is always the proclamation of the Father and the Son.

If we say that the Holy Spirit inspired Beethoven, then we mean—if we are using the Christian vocabulary aright—that in his music Beethoven confessed Jesus as Lord. If we do not mean that, but only that Beethoven was inspired, it can only be because we are not thinking Biblically. The New Testament is not talking about inspiration when it tells of the Holy Spirit. Let me give a quotation from Professor Raven, who was passionately anxious to re-establish the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the forefront of the Church's armoury of evangelism. But because he never learned to think Biblically, his doctrine of the Holy Spirit was less Trinitarian than pantheist.

If we are honest, would not most of us have to confess that we are precisely in the position of those twelve whom Paul found at Ephesus who did not so much as know if there was any Holy Ghost? And in consequence all

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[1] A paper read to a Convention of Anglican Clergy in the Diocese of Cape Town.

> this glorious knowledge that the whole creative process is the scene of His energy, that every least impulse towards fulness of life is linked up at every level with His majestic effort, that in us all wherever men and women are loving and joyous and peaceful and brave He is manifested, and that all our aspirations towards a truer brotherhood, a nobler community of mankind are acknowledgments of His leading—all this finds no place in the worship and witness of our Church.

It is a moving passage. But it is not Biblical thinking or Trinitarian thinking; it is Greek and pagan thinking, clothed in Biblical language.

One hears Biddings which run, for example, 'Let us pray that the Holy Spirit may guide the rulers of the nations.' What that ought to mean if we are using the Church's vocabulary is 'Let us pray that the rulers of the nations may confess Christ.' But that is, I suspect, seldom the intention. It is a grave distortion of the Church's vocabulary to equate inspiration and the work of the Holy Spirit. It is grave because once the Church permits such distortions, a further distortion follows: we bring to the Scriptures this distortion of our own vocabulary and inevitably produce a distorted exegesis of them.

The first step in recovering the doctrine of the Holy Spirit must be a thoroughly Biblically-minded study of the Bible. There are two ways of setting about a study of the NT doctrine of the Holy Spirit. You can study the doctrine in the Synoptic Gospels, in John, in Acts, in Paul, and so on. Then you sum these up and present your summary as the NT doctrine. The assumptions underlying this procedure are these: first, that the NT is not a unity, and secondly, that there is not within the NT itself a NT doctrine of the Holy Spirit: in the NT itself there is only the material out of which the student can construct a doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

To illustrate what I mean, let us suppose that a biography of the late Archbishop of Cape Town were written by a number of his friends, each describing a different period of his life. In such a book the reader would find a number of assessments of the Archbishop's character. He would have to construct out of that material a unified judgment about the Archbishop. Such a judgment would exist in the mind of the reader and not in the book itself.

Now, that approach to the NT I believe to be wrong. The

NT is written out of a totality of doctrine. It has not been formulated, and you will not find the totality expressed in every passage, because each passage is dealing with only one aspect of the whole. What appears on the surface is not all that the writer knows: it is all that he has occasion to mention. He knows the whole. The Church in which and for which the various authors of the NT wrote possessed the totality of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and each author wrote out of his knowledge of that totality. We can safely read into, and read out of, any passage in the NT we study the totality of the NT doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

If we are to stand on sure ground in our interpretation of the NT we must reach it by way of the OT doctrine of the Spirit of God. The OT has no Christological understanding of the Spirit, but there is that in its doctrine which led the Church to adopt the OT term for its preaching of God's Christological dealings with man. When Moses set about building the tabernacle, it is recorded that God said to him, 'I have filled Bezalel with the Spirit of God'. Now, that does not mean that Bezalel was inspired and that his existing talents were enhanced. It means that he was enabled to do things which he had been, and was again to be, unable to do. He was a man possessed, a new being. In *Judges* we read that the Spirit of the Lord clothed himself with Gideon. That vivid expression means that Gideon was a new creature, abnormal, possessed.

The Spirit of God makes a man a new creature, and this is no more true and no less true if it is an evil spirit. We read that an evil spirit from the Lord came upon Saul. He became abnormal, a new being. The same is true of the prophets of whom Micaiah said that a lying spirit from the Lord was in their mouths. This does not mean that they were normally liars: on the contrary, the point is that they were normally truthful; but now they are possessed, abnormal. The Spirit of God works a sort of new creation upon men—though a temporary one in the OT.

We must note in the interests of accuracy that this feature of the doctrine of the Spirit is less marked in later writings. In the older writings *nephesh* is the life which every man has from God, and *ruach* is the possessing spirit. In the later writings the two are sometimes nearly equated, either because the

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authors have abandoned the notion of possession or because their minds were so concentrated upon man's dependence on God that they saw no reason to distinguish between the weaker and the stronger words.

The chief contributions of the OT to the NT doctrine of the Holy Spirit are these: first the notion of possession and new creation, and secondly the belief that the Spirit is other than man. The Church called the Spirit the Holy Spirit. The term itself occurs in the OT, but too infrequently to account for the Church's adoption of it as a technical term. The word 'Holy' denotes that which belongs to God alone. It is not in the first instance a word from the vocabulary of ethics. 'Holy' Spirit signifies that the Spirit is not human; it is other than human; it is divine. The spirit of man is not, in Biblical thought, as it is in Greek thought, akin to the Spirit of God. The Spirit is called Holy Spirit because the Church wished to emphasise that He is other than man: He is God Himself.

The NT is a thoroughly Hebraic book. It speaks with an uncertain voice if we bring to its interpretation Greek categories of thought. Nowhere is there more need to emphasise this than in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Sanday and Headlam, commenting on Rom. 8, 9, write, 'The highest part of man's nature, the πνεῦμα, is what it is by virtue of its affinity to God. It is essentially that part of man which holds communion with God.' Now that might do were St. Paul a Greek, for in Greek psychology man was analysable into body, soul, and spirit; but it will not do at all as a comment on St. Paul, that Hebrew of Hebrews. A Hebrew might perhaps say that man consists of body and soul. But spirit is not at all part of his nature: it is something added by God in exceptional circumstances, and in the NT it is something added to the Christian, something that only the Christian has. The Christian πνεῦμα might be described as that part of man which holds communion with God, but only provided that it were emphasised at once that such a man could only be a Christian, and provided that it were pointed out that such a man was abnormal, born again, a member of the new creation, the third race, a man possessed. All Christians are abnormal, men possessed. The mark of their abnormality, the mark of their possession by the Spirit and of their possession of spirit, is that they confess the

Father and the Son, that they cry Abba, Father, and Jesus is Lord.

The contrast, frequent in Paul, between flesh and spirit, is never a contrast between two constituent parts of the natural human being. The non-Christian, the unredeemed, does not possess this spirit at all. Only the Christian knows the conflict between flesh and spirit. Frequently in Paul *πνεῦμα* does not refer directly to the Holy Spirit, but rather to the stamp, the trade-mark as it were, of the work of the Holy Spirit upon a man, so that such a man has *πνεῦμα*. The Christian is flesh and spirit, natural humanity and redeemed humanity. That is where the conflict comes from. The NT knows of no *πνεῦμα* which is not the work of the Holy Spirit[1]; and it knows of no activity of the Holy Spirit which is not concerned with the work of Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God.

There is another aspect of all this which we must note. As the jargon of the day would put it, pneumatology is eschatological. The person upon whom the Holy Spirit has come has been born again into life eternal, and there confesses Christ. In speaking of the Holy Spirit we are speaking of the irruption of the last days into time. That was Peter's deduction from the events of the first Whitsunday. These are the last days spoken of by Joel, the days of possession by the Spirit. The Christian is one who has been set within the last days even while he lives in the present world. Christ is the Second Man, the last Adam. The new creation was inaugurated by Him; and we who are His are within the new creation.

The core of the Gospel is the death and resurrection of Christ. We cannot understand resurrection unless we take in full seriousness the death. It was death, an end, a break, a discontinuity. Resurrection is not resuscitation: it is resurrection from the dead, *ἐκ νέκρων* in that queer NT phrase, from corpses. There is in the death and resurrection both discontinuity and continuity. The preaching of the apostles consisted of identifying this Jesus whom you crucified with the Risen Christ, preaching discontinuity and continuity. We who are buried and raised with Him are beings of discontinuity and continuity, beings of this age and of the post-resurrection age. It is the

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[1] Five passages suggest exceptions: Matt. 26.41; 1 Cor. 5.3; 2 Cor. 7.1; 1 Thess. 5.23; Jas. 2.26.

Holy Spirit who does this work upon us, setting His seal upon us in His confession in us of Jesus the Risen Christ and in conferring upon us the gift of πνεῦμα. He makes the death and resurrection of Christ a work of death and resurrection upon us. He holds us beyond the greedy grasp of death. He bestows upon us πνεῦμα and holds us in that relationship with God which Paul calls 'pneumatic'. He holds us there. He holds us there. The Holy Spirit of His initiative holds us in redemption. It is not a gift, once and for all ours. It is a relationship with Him held in being by Him. We are men possessed, new creatures, at His will and by His doing, by His Grace.

We find difficulty in thinking of the Holy Spirit as fully personal. The cause of this difficulty, and the effect of it, is that we have attached Him too closely to the Church; we have, as it were, welded Him to the Church so that He has not the freedom either of one who is Personal or of one who is God. We think of Him as a sort of funnel through which God pours grace into Christians and the funnel is firmly secured in place at our end.

He *is* working in the Church, and only of that work of His in the Church may we use the Church's vocabulary of the Holy Spirit. But it is imperative that we give Him His freedom. He is God, and we must think of Him as free to do or not to do. If God is to be God indeed, and if the Holy Spirit is to be God indeed, then no sort of compulsion lies upon Him. He is free to do or not to do. Every work of His is a new work, a new decision, even if it be a decision to do what He has always done. Every work of His is a work of free Grace, a work of His own unconditioned initiative.

Two quotations will perhaps clarify what I am trying to say. In his book, *The Problem of Right Conduct*, Peter Green poses the question: 'Does God will a thing because it is right, or is it right because He wills it?' He concludes that it must be the former. Now, that means that there is something above God, namely the right which God is obliged to obey. This comes out more clearly in a Roman writer. 'God's holiness consists in the fact that essentially His will can will only the Good and the Right. Thus it presupposes an eternal standard of all willing which is not subject to the free choice of God, a standard with which the Divine Will agrees not freely, but of necessity, so that God's holiness consists precisely in this necessary agreement.' I can just see a sense in which that can be true; I can see more clearly that by Biblical standards it is almost blasphemous. We are not thinking of the God of the Bible if we set a necessity, a 'Must' behind and above Him.

We turn to the work of the Holy Spirit in the sacraments. A sacrament is a rite which the Church is commanded to perform, a rite in which (when the Church performs it in obedience) the Holy Spirit does His Christological and eschatological work, confessing Christ in the believer, incorporating him into the death and resurrection of Christ, making him a new creature, 'pneumatic', a man possessed. Baptism is the sacrament of the once-and-for-all work of the Holy Spirit. There He brings to bear on the believer the death and resurrection of Christ and sets him, a dead-and-raised being, within the new creation, a man possessed by, and possessing, πνεῦμα. The Holy Spirit sets him within the third race, giving him not only a new future, but also a new history, for in being made a member of the Israel of God he learns that the story of the OT is his story. A German, on becoming a naturalised English citizen, accepts 1066 and all that as *his* history. So the believer in baptism finds that the Exodus and all that is *his* history.

In baptism the Holy Spirit does this great work. Yet somehow we must leave room for the thought that because He is God He is free either to do it or not to do it. Faith will assure us that He will do it; Faith in Him as veritably God will also refuse to deny Him freedom not to do it. I shall return to this later.

We have in baptism a once-and-for-all sacrament. We need more: we need a repetitive sacrament. And this Christ has provided in the Eucharist. It is a strange thing that Anglicans who make so much of some aspects of the Eucharist make so little of this, its most important aspect. I find, for example, in Harton's *The Elements of the Spiritual Life* the following, 'Holy Baptism . . . confers "character" . . .; that is, it makes a fundamental change in the soul itself, and for that reason it may never be repeated, no matter what may happen to the soul. It may be a Prodigal Son, but it is still the son of God; the Holy Spirit may be resisted and the channels of grace stopped up by continued and mortal sin, *but the way back is through the gate of Penance, not Baptism.*' Something is gravely amiss when for one of the Gospel sacraments 'generally necessary for salvation', as the Catechism has it, is substituted one of the 'five commonly called sacraments', as the Articles have it. The Eucharist is the way back. In the Eucharist the Holy Spirit does again upon me, upon thee, the redeeming work of the death and resurrection of Christ. He makes the death and resurrection of Christ 1900 years ago contemporary for me, for thee. And so we say in the words of administration, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for *thee*, the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for *thee*, for *thee*.'

If we had only the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of the once-and-for-all-ness of the Holy Spirit's work, we should suffer from a sense of insecurity, relying upon a moment which, for most of us, happened in our infancy; or from a sense of *securitas*, leading to carelessness or antinomianism; or we should swing between the two. If we had only the sacrament of the Eucharist, the sacrament of the repetition of the Holy Spirit's work, then we might suffer from a sense of insecurity, supposing that we live by moments of devotional fervour and excitement, with drab periods of emptiness between the moments; or from a sense of *securitas* in which, relying on His repeated work, we should fall into carelessness or antinomianism. When the two sacraments are held together and each given due weight we have a perfect balance of the joy of once-and-for-allness and the joy of daily reiteration.

In the Eucharist the Holy Spirit does His Christological and eschatological work. And again we must remember that He does it freely of His Grace and that He is free not to do it. Our performance of a rite cannot put Him at our disposal, in our power. The thought that it could was one of the reasons why God brought destruction upon His Temple in Jerusalem. It is imperative to avoid the Roman heresy on this score, which is so plausible and so 'natural' that many Anglicans are seduced into thinking it to be orthodoxy. To put it crudely but vigorously, the theory suggests that God has established a reservoir of grace and it is up to us to tap it. The performance of the sacramental rite is the method of tapping it. There are two errors here: first, a misunderstanding of the nature of

Grace, and secondly an assumption that God is not personally active in our acquiring of grace. He could be absent, as it were, but we should still get the grace. I know that to be a crude way of expressing it, but it is necessary in order to draw attention to the personalness of the Holy Spirit. His work in the sacraments establishes a personal relationship with me and with thee of His ordaining and His initiative. That relationship is not something that is mine, that is at my disposal, that is a permanent possession of mine, a natural, indissoluble relationship like that of son to father, for it is established by Him and is held in being by Him. If He ceases to maintain it, it drops away. We are, quite literally, 'at His mercy'.

He is God and He is free to do or not to do. To some extent our uneasiness about the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as God is due to the sense of insecurity that must go with the true doctrine. It is much more comfortable to believe in a Holy Spirit who is not free, who must always dance to our tune, always comply when we perform the appropriate rites. But that is not to believe that He is God. It arises from a doubt of God. We want to be certain of God. But we are not being certain of God as God, we are not showing confidence and Faith in Him as God if we construct a sacramental theology which does not allow Him to be free to do or not to do. Faith is complete trust in God; but it is Faith only if it is Faith set in insecurity. That is not Faith which rejoices in a legalistic system of certainties and seeks to abolish all uncertainties. True Faith abominates techniques which aim at unfailing, mechanical clock-work reliability. True Faith in God relies wholly on the trustworthiness of God, so wholly that it rejoices in insecurity. Hope that is seen is not hope; and similarly Faith that is mechanically assured is not Faith.

We must start from such faith in the Holy Spirit as God that we shall not dream of questioning, or setting bounds to, His freedom. In the sacraments we shall believe that He makes the death and resurrection of Christ a contemporary work upon the believer. He does that out of His Grace, His own free choice, and we shall worship Him the more wonderingly, sing our alleluias the more fervently, because every time it is His own free, personal will to do it. The uncertainty must be there, but an uncertainty which does not overwhelm or becloud our faith, but which is caught up into the very structure of our faith as a factor in the wondering worship and praise for His free gift. No necessity rests upon Him to do it. But He does it. Thanks be to God for His unspeakable loving-kindness.

Such must be our Faith in God the Holy Spirit, Faith in a Person, a free Person, never lapsing into faith in an immutable law or system.

We might define a sacrament as a rite of the Church ordained by Christ wherein the Holy Spirit makes the event of the death and resurrection a contemporary event of redemption upon the believer, takes possession of him, and sets him within life eternal and the new creation. Two corollaries follow: first that the five 'commonly called sacraments' are sacraments of a different order, and secondly, that there is a third sacrament, preaching.

I have never met a definition of a sacrament which both includes the seven and at the same time does justice to the two Gospel sacraments, and I doubt whether one can be framed. If you have a definition made to the measure of the five you have to trim and diminish the Gospel sacraments to make them fit into it. If you have a definition made to the measure of the two, it touches the five only at a few points, like a giant's waistcoat on an emaciated man. For the Holy Spirit, though at work in the five, is not doing in them His particular work. I make bold to say that the more sacraments you have, the smaller is your understanding of the nature of a sacrament. The five are certainly sacramental; but I should prefer to call them sacramental ordinances of the Church rather than sacraments.

The second corollary is this, that there is a third sacrament, preaching. As the Church preaches it fulfils a Dominical command; as it preaches the Gospel, identifying the Risen Christ with the crucified Jesus, the Holy Spirit makes the event event again upon the hearer. But it must be preaching. Exhortation, religious essays, topical talks, many of what are known as teaching sermons, these are not preaching. An address does not become preaching by virtue of being delivered from the pulpit. Perhaps in no part of the Church's life has failure to believe in the God-ness and Personalness of the

Holy Spirit had such disastrous consequences as in contemporary sermons.

In baptism the Church knows what it must do that the Holy Spirit may work His work, and it does it; in the Eucharist it knows what it must do that the Holy Spirit may work His work, and it does it; in preaching it ought to know what it must do—proclaim the Good News, proclaim Jesus as Christ and Lord, proclaim the event of the death and resurrection, that the Holy Spirit may make it event for the hearer; but it does not do it. Many preachers do not expect the Holy Spirit to do through a sermon His personal, eschatological, Christological work, saying, This is for thee, speaking again in the hearer's heart vividly and vitally the confession, Jesus is Lord, stamping on him His gift of πνεῦμα, making him a man possessed. They do not expect this because they do not really believe in Him as God. So they give a sermon which is Law, exhortation, instead of Gospel; and they hinder the Holy Spirit's work.

To think of preaching so makes our task as preachers even more arduous and awful. But it also fills it with a new delight. For the preacher can preach with expectation. If he provides the best he can, it matters not at all whether or no he be an orator: the Holy Spirit can make the event which the preacher proclaims event again. The Holy Spirit is there ready and waiting, the Holy Spirit, God the Holy Spirit, God in all His plenitude and power and majesty and loving-kindness, very God of very God.

I wish we might be persuaded to regard preaching as a sacrament. For if we were persuaded and so gave the Holy Spirit that opportunity which our Lord commanded the Church to give Him, the Church would be so roused to life that it would be something to be reckoned with in every sphere of life, for it would consist of men possessed, new creatures, filled with the Spirit.

It could be shown in history how the Church's ups and downs are directly related to its understanding of its sacraments. Only when it has the three and makes use of them as peculiarly the sacraments of the Holy Spirit does it face the world with authority and power. The Church of *Acts* was certainly a three-sacrament Church. Compare it with the Church of the

West before the Reformation. That was not a three-sacrament Church, and it was a corrupt Church. Insisting on more than three it reduced the significance of the three and curbed the work of the Holy Spirit in them. The Church of Luther and the Church of Calvin were three-sacrament Churches, and they were Churches of power. They lost something of that power in the seventeenth century; they lost something, too, of their three-sacrament structure.

The Anglican Church after the Reformation was a three-sacrament Church. If it has not always been, and is not today a Church of power, that may be due to the fact that it has seldom been through and through a three-sacrament Church. The Evangelical wing has often been content with two, baptism and preaching, and the Anglo-Catholic wing with two, baptism and Eucharist, in spite of (perhaps because of) its claim to have seven. One cause for anxiety about the Church of South India is that it is not securely a three-sacrament Church. (But those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.)

The Holy Spirit works through the three sacraments. A Church with fewer than the three curbs His work; a Church with more than the three encumbers Him. Reducing the three to the stature of the five, to the stature of the Church's sacramental ordinances, it does not give Him full rein to work through the sacraments His personal, Christological work. It is concerned with consolidation and discipline rather than with a continuing Pentecostal work. If the Church wishes to be filled with the power of the Holy Spirit and to consist of men possessed, new creatures, it must reform itself and become again a three-sacrament Church, become that, because it believes that the Holy Spirit is God, very God of very God, and claims His power to work in the Churches as God.

THE MIRACLES OF THE LOAVES AND THE GENTILES IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

by DR G. H. BOOBYER

IN THEIR homiletical expositions of the Scriptures, the patristic writers freely employed symbolical methods. Origen, for instance, understood the two miracles with which we are concerned here to signify the giving of the Word of God to the Gentiles; whilst Augustine held that the feeding of the five thousand symbolised that salvation was for the Jews, and that of the four thousand its offering to the Gentiles. Many modern scholars say that Augustine's exegesis would, in this respect, have been Mark's view of these two miracles.

It seems certain that Mark did attach a symbolical meaning to the miracles of the loaves, and that for him they implied that Jesus feeds men with heavenly bread—a significance which the Fourth Evangelist clearly gives to the feeding of the five thousand in John 6.[1] But is it correct to suppose that the feeding of the five thousand was thought by the Second Evangelist to show that Jesus provides spiritual food for Jews, and the four thousand that He ministers in like manner to Gentiles?

G. Volkmar maintained that both miracles taught that the Gospel is to go to the Gentiles.[2] Volkmar's conclusion, however, arose out of an incorrect understanding of the nature of the Second Gospel as a whole. He contended that the Gospel was 'eine selbstbewusste Lehr-Poësie auf historischem Grunde' (p. 643) written to vindicate Paul and the Gentile mission of Paul. The miraculous feedings, then, were both to be understood in the light of that purpose. In these narratives, Jesus gave a symbolical demonstration of His will to save the Gentiles. But although the Second Gospel is not such thoroughgoing Pauline apologetic as Volkmar supposed (Werner proved that), and although it is therefore mistaken to link the symbolism of the miracles of the loaves so specifically with Pauline, missionary enterprise, was Volkmar's view wholly wrong? Is it not true to say that for Mark both these mighty works did show the offering of salvation to the Gentiles? Let us examine this possibility.

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[1] M. Werner, *Der Einfluss d. paulinischen Theologie im Markusevangelium* (1923), pp. 8-28, denied the validity of attributing symbolical meanings to the material of the Second Gospel. But Werner's argument on this question is defective. He paid no attention to the significance of Mark's grouping of the contents of his Gospel, nor to the prevalence of symbolism and allied, hermeneutical devices in the apostolic, Christian Church, in later Christian expositors and in Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism; and whilst one may well hesitate to pursue symbolism and typology in Mark to the extent to which Austin Farrer does (*A Study in St. Mark* (1951)), it is impossible to assent to C. Montefiore's judgment that Werner had given 'very hard knocks' to the symbolism theory (*Synoptic Gospels*, I, 177). Loisy noticed that an explicit, symbolical allusion appears at Mark 14.8 (*L'Évangile selon Marc* (1912), p. 40).

[2] G. Volkmar, *Marcus u. d. Synopse der Evangelien nach dem urkundlichen Text* (Zürich, 1876) (Neue mit einem Anhang erweiterte Ausgabe). See especially pp. 327-410.

It is unnecessary to devote much space to the symbolical interpretation of the feeding of the four thousand, for there is widespread agreement that Mark located this miracle on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee and in Gentile territory. He represents Jesus as making an itinerary through Tyre and Sidon, and then through the Decapolis, before crossing to the west shore of the Lake. The miracle appears to be placed in the Decapolis. Hence the Evangelist will have thought of the recipients of the Lord's bounty as a Gentile crowd; and, if Mark attributed a symbolical significance to the narrative, it would have indicated that Jesus does offer His salvation to Gentiles.

Must we, however, say that Mark regarded the five thousand as a Jewish multitude, and so thought of this miracle as symbolising the Lord's provision of the spiritual bread of the Gospel for Jews?

(i) This theory seems to be based almost entirely upon the contention that Mark looked upon the miracle as having occurred on the western side of the Sea of Galilee, and that he will therefore have considered those fed to have been Jews. But the topographical evidence makes it by no means sure that we should attribute this view to Mark. Expositors, in fact, are much divided in the choice between the western and eastern coasts, some preferring one, some the other. Some say that Mark 6.45 is best understood as referring to a voyage from the west shore towards the east, in which case the feeding occurred near the west shore. Bethsaida will then be Bethsaida Julias;

and in the gospel tradition *εἰς τὸ πέραν* may have been a conventionally fixed expression for a journey to the east side.[1] That the company eventually landed at Gennesaret (6.53) on the west shore will have been due to the storm. The contrary wind turned them back.

But this interpretation of events has its weaknesses. Even though in the early stages of the formation of the gospel tradition and amongst Palestinian Christians, *εἰς τὸ πέραν* (or the Aramaic behind it) perhaps implied, in general, a crossing from west to east, there is no reason to suppose that the phrase retained that conventional sense for Mark. K. L. Schmidt seems willing to allow this. Further, the account of the storm itself gives no indication that they were driven back to the west shore, after having set out from it. On the contrary, *καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρέτ* (6.53) suggests that after Jesus had stilled the tempest they completed an intended journey to Gennesaret, and *διαπεράσαντες* is most naturally taken to mean that the course had been a crossing of some sort.

The topographical details supplied by Mark are, in fact, quite compatible with the view that Mark did think of the feeding of the five thousand as occurring on the eastern side, followed by a crossing to the west, and this is so without resort to the hypothesis that in 6.45 Bethsaida was an otherwise unknown Bethsaida on the west coast. Assuming that Bethsaida was Bethsaida Julias on the eastern side, near the spot where the River Jordan flows into the Sea of Galilee, *εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν* is not an impossible phrase for the east shore location of the miracle. As Loisy remarked, Bethsaida need not have been the boat's ultimate destination. It could have been a rendezvous where Jesus was to rejoin the disciples, since He did not intend 'de regagner à pied la côte occidentale . . . .'[2] Lagrange[3] also favours the east coast site, and suggests that *πρός* in 6.45 may carry the sense of 'en face de'. The merit of the east coast theory consists, further, in the fact that it requires no special pleading about the course followed by the storm-tossed boat, and allows the most natural meaning of 6.53 to stand. In this case, Mark thought that after the miracle

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[1] Cf. K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen d. Geshichte Jesu* (1919), pp. 181 ff.

[2] *L'Évangile selon Marc* (1912), p. 197.

[3] *Évangile selon Marc* (1928), p. 166.

Jesus and His disciples crossed from east to west, and so regarded the feeding of the five thousand as performed near the eastern shore of the Sea. The multitude fed will then have collected from the moment that they noticed the boat approaching the eastern coast (6.33), and Mark will have thought of them, probably, as a predominantly Gentile concourse, as on the occasion of the feeding of the four thousand. The topographical information in Mark's account is therefore no obstacle to the opinion that for the Evangelist the feeding of the five thousand, as well as that of the four thousand, refers to the offering of Christian salvation to the Gentiles.

(ii) We now turn to the details of both miracles and what is said about them in 8.14-21. Is there anything here to suggest that for Mark, Jesus on the first occasion was supplying food for five thousand Jews and symbolically proclaiming His spiritual provision for Jews? Or is there more to imply that the multitude was Gentile, and that the first miracle, like the second, signified the eventual proclamation of the Gospel to Gentiles?

A prominent feature of both narratives and of the remarks in 8.14-21 is that, with the help of Jesus, there was more than sufficient food to feed the two multitudes: the bread was not only enough, but enough and to spare. Twelve baskets full of fragments were taken up after the meal of the five thousand and seven after that of the four thousand. In 8.14-21, special attention is called to this surplus. As most of 8.14-21 seems to be editorial, it is evident that the abundance of the food was a significant point for the Evangelist. He is making a deliberate effort to show that on both occasions Christ had enough for a far greater number of people than the disciples thought it possible to feed.

But what reason is there for supposing that this means that in the miracle of the five thousand Mark saw a reference to the fact that Jesus had enough spiritual bread for Jews? Was there any doubt about that in the minds of the disciples as they are presented in Mark's Gospel, or in the mind of the Evangelist himself? In Mark's record, Jesus had come as a Jew to Jews. He had proclaimed His message, and had done His mighty works of compassion throughout Galilee. He was about to reveal Himself more fully in Judaea and Jerusalem. The

Twelve had been with Him in these appeals to Israel. At the time of the feeding of the five thousand, they had in fact only just returned from a mission of preaching and healing, when they had been delegated to go out on their own to extend the Lord's ministrations to His own people. Then how could Mark possibly think that the Twelve needed special instruction in the truth that the religious mission of Jesus included the Jews? Or whatever point could there have been in symbolically teaching this, when the fact of it is openly recorded in the events themselves throughout the Gospel?

Again, the disciples are said to have felt no responsibility for the hungry multitudes, especially in the case of the five thousand. They wish to send the people away (6.36); and show little readiness to respond to the Lord's injunction to give them to eat. If the feeding of the five thousand illustrates the giving of the bread of the Gospel to Jews, are these details possible? They would once more imply that Mark thought of the disciples as unaware of their missionary responsibility for Jews, and as unwilling to assume such responsibility when exhorted to do so by Jesus. Yet they were accompanying Jesus on His mission to Jews, and had only just returned from an important, preaching itinerary—presumably to Jews!

It must surely be certain that here are prominent features of Mark's accounts of the miracles of the loaves which are irreconcilable with the theory that Mark thought of the five thousand as representing the Jews. But how appropriate are all these aspects of the narratives themselves and of the remarks of 8.14-21, if both miracles are symbolical illustrations of Christ's readiness to offer salvation to the Gentiles! The prominence given to the abundance of the food is immediately intelligible. That there was enough to share freely with Gentiles is precisely what the Twelve and other Jewish Christians had to learn; and how long some of them took to learn it is clear from the Acts and the Epistles. Or that the Twelve should be represented in both stories, especially in the feeding of the five thousand, as disinclined to provide for the multitudes, preferring to send them away, will again be compatible with the NT evidence about the attitude of Jewish Christians after Easter to the Gentile mission.

(iii) It is of some importance to consider next the nature of the whole section 6.30–8.21 and its relation to the total content of the Gospel. How much of this section has to do with the Gentiles? K. L. Schmidt, for instance, headed Chaps. 6.14 to 8.26 'Jesus outside Galilee in Gentile Territory', because, in his view, that title expressed the topical interest which governed the grouping of the material;[1] and Austin Farrer suggests that the material of Chaps. 7.1 to 9.1 prefigures the admission of the Gentiles into the Christian community.[2] Plainly the interest in Gentiles is strong here. Jesus is frequently in Gentile territory or the territory of the tetrarch Philip, which was prevailingly Gentile in population. Chap. 7 is concerned to point out that there is no defilement in not observing Jewish ritual washings and food taboos, thus implying that Gentiles and Gentile food can be clean. Then comes Christ's response to the Syro-Phoenician woman, and, says Mark, *ἦν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἑλληνίς* (7.26). But Jesus shares the children's (Israel's) bread with this Gentile; and in the next paragraph the healing of the deaf mute—apparently also a Gentile—is recorded. Apart from the observation in 8.11-13 that no sign shall be given *τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ* (clearly the Jews), the remainder of 6.30–8.21 is made up of the narrative of the feeding of the four thousand and the comments upon the two miracles of the loaves. So there is a manifest interest throughout all these paragraphs in showing that Jesus at this stage in Mark's sequence of events was beginning to make His compassionate response to the needs of the Gentiles: it was right to feed Gentiles, and have fellowship (eat) with Gentiles. In consequence, to understand the miraculous feeding of the five thousand as a ministration to Gentiles is fully in conformity with the *Leitmotif* of the immediate context.

It may also be claimed that such an interpretation of the feeding of the five thousand is in harmony with the wider course of affairs as the Second Evangelist sees them from the beginning to the end of his story. The early part of the Gospel down to Chap. 6.29 is almost entirely devoted to a ministry of Jesus to Israel centred upon Galilee. This initial appeal to His nation seems to reach its fullest extent with the sending out of the Twelve to supplement His own activity. But throughout

[1] *Der Rahmen d. Geschichte Jesu* (1919), pp. 172-214.
[2] op. cit., Chap. VI.

these chapters, we read of unbelief and opposition, particularly from the leaders of the Jewish people; and the record of it reaches a significant point with the story of Herod's execution of the forerunner, who for Mark was part of 'the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ' (1.1). From this point onwards, it becomes increasingly clear what is going to happen: the Jews will reject Jesus, and do Him to death in Jerusalem. They will also themselves be rejected. The vineyard is to be taken from them, and given to others (12.9). Alongside the development of this tragic theme, however, there appears another. It is suggested in passages like Mark 4.30-32 and 5.1-20; but begins to be more explicit from Chap. 7 onwards: the Lord is turning to the Gentiles. He gives them the children's bread (7.27); He makes God's house fit for them (11.17); they are to have the vineyard (12.9), after the Gospel has been freely proclaimed to them (13.10). The road along which Jesus must pass to this enthronement in the Gentile world is a strange one to the disciples—He must give *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* (10.45, cf. 14.24).[1] But the reality of the triumph which awaits Him beyond the cross is illustrated before the Gospel closes. Immediately after Our Lord's life is at an end, a Gentile centurion acclaims Him as truly a Son of God.

It is now surely permissible to contend that the interpretation of the feeding of the five thousand as a symbolical representation of the truth that Jesus feeds Jews with heavenly bread is quite out of keeping with the immediate context in which the story appears and with the trend of the whole Gospel. In Chap. 6, Mark had no interest in supplying a symbolical lesson about Christ's intention to feed Jews, and no reason for doing so. On the other hand, to understand the story as teaching that Jesus will provide salvation for the Gentiles fits both its narrower setting and the general picture which the Second Gospel presents. In recording this miracle in 6.30-44, Mark saw Jesus giving the disciples important instruction in the ultimate outcome of events: God was to reject the Jews because the Jews had rejected the Christ and His Gospel. Salvation would therefore be taken to the Gentiles. No wonder that the feeding of the five thousand, as well as the feeding of the four thousand, could be described as a mighty work which the disciples did not then understand (6.52, 8.17-21).

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[1] *ἀντὶ πολλῶν* in 10.45 and *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* in 14.24 seem to mean 'for' or 'on behalf of *all*'. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (1949), pp. 91 ff, 108 ff; 'Der Gedanke des "Heiligen Restes" im Spätjudentum u. in der Verkündigung Jesu', *ZNW*, 42 Band (1949), pp. 184-194. On the theme of the Cross and its relation to the admission of the Gentiles into the Church, see M. Kiddle, 'The Death of Jesus and the Admission of the Gentiles in St. Mark', *J.T.S.*, 1934, Vol. xxxv, pp. 45 ff.

(iv) Yet one more important point remains. Does the view that both miracles of the loaves symbolise the religious feeding of the Gentiles make the interpretation of Mark 8.15 any easier? There seems no reason to doubt that these words are a genuine saying of Jesus; but the main difficulty is to see the sense in which Mark uses them here, especially his understanding of ζύμη. Werner gave up hope of knowing the interpretation which the Second Evangelist put upon this word.[1] The verse has also been felt to fit most awkwardly into its setting. C. H. Turner, for instance, whilst affirming that Mark inserted the logion at this point, considered that it broke the sequence of thought and was 'an extreme example of Mark's naïve and non-logical construction of his narrative'.[2] But such a judgment may but indicate that Mark's interpretation of 8.15 has not been rightly seen. To discover it, two things must be attempted: it is necessary to grasp clearly the leading ideas of the immediate context; and then to ask whether there is an interpretation of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod which is likely for Mark and also appropriate in the setting of this verse.

The thought of the context clearly revolves around two ideas: (*a*) the disciples are rebuked for thinking that they have insufficient bread; and (*b*) they are assured that although they have only ἕνα ἄρτον they have, with Christ's help, enough for all requirements. Possibly the English A.V. and R.V. introduce a little additional obscurity into the passage by a translation of vv. 14, 16 and 17 which suggests that to all intents and purposes the disciples were without bread. But the Greek text does not put it quite that way. The disciples had forgotten λαβεῖν ἄρτους, but they did have ἕνα ἄρτον, and must realise that where Jesus is at hand what they have will meet all needs —indeed it will be enough and to spare, just as five loaves sufficed for five thousand, leaving twelve baskets of fragments, and seven for four thousand, with a surplus of seven baskets full. If both multitudes are held to symbolise the Gentiles, the whole paragraph will mean that the disciples are to understand that the spiritual bread which they possess is adequate for themselves and also to share with the Gentiles: the supply is not to be limited to the Jews.

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[1] op. cit., pp. 20 ff.

[2] 'Marcan Usage', *J.T.S.*, Vol. XXVI, 1924-5, p. 150.

Can we now find an interpretation of 8.15 which the Second Evangelist could have held and which also fits this framework of ideas? E. Lohmeyer was one of those commentators who hold that the saying seems out of place in its present context; but he did make a useful observation about its meaning. The interest, he said, which bound the Pharisees and Herod together was the national hope of a united Jewish people in their own independent state and governed by their own king. The leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod will then have referred to the rather political, Messianic hopes of the two parties.[1] This suggestion comes nearer the mark than most expositions of these words.

Looking at the Second Gospel as a whole, what role do the Pharisees and the house of Herod play in the record? The Pharisees are clearly some of the principle leaders in the opposition to Jesus. Amongst other things, they resent the freedom with which He takes the mercies of God to publicans and sinners, and His refusal to be strictly bound by the Law and the Tradition—both of which they regarded as essential in order to preserve the identity of Judaism, and to ensure the realisation of Israel's Messianic hopes. The Pharisees and the Herodians (or Herod) are brought together three times in Mark, namely, at 3.6 and 12.13 in addition to 8.15, and in the first two passages Herodians co-operate with the opposition of the Pharisees. Further, in Mark 6, much prominence is given to Herod Antipas himself as one who is nervous about Jesus and has slain John the Baptist; and we shall rightly understand Mark's view of Herod only if we remember that for this Evangelist John the Baptist was an integral character in the beginning of the historic events of the Gospel (1.1). In other words, Mark will have seen Herod as arraying himself against Christ's cause. Indeed, this is the outstanding fact about the house of Herod throughout the Gospels and Acts from the mention of Herod the Great's aim to destroy Jesus in Matt. 2 to the persecution of the Church by Herod Agrippa I described in Acts 12.[1]

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[1] *Das Evangelium des Markus* (1937), p. 157 f.

Surely these points show that to Mark the Pharisees and Herod (or the Herodians) represent the spiritual and temporal leadership of a hostile Judaism. This Judaism will not tolerate the freedom with which the Gospel is going out to men of all kinds and races, often without proper regard for the food taboos, ritual washings, sabbath observance and other ordinances which helped to keep Israel in a position of privilege in God's purposes. By these ready ministrations of Jesus to publicans, sinners and Gentiles, Israel's inheritance is thought to be too freely and too widely shared. The Pharisees and Herod, and those whom they represent, would have kept the bread more closely to themselves (7.27), just as they had every intention of keeping the vineyard for themselves (12.7). But this was not in conformity with God's will as revealed in Jesus: the vineyard was to go to others (12.9); and in the miracles of the loaves and the remarks about them in 8.14-21, Mark shows that it was to be the same with the bread. The story of the Syro-Phoenician woman had also suggested it (7.27-29). Thus the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod is the attitude of a self-seeking and possessive nationalism; a spirit too preoccupied with its own privileges; and too exclusively bent upon its own political and religious future.

We seem now to have arrived at an interpretation of Mark 8.15 which is wholly in accord with the outlook of the Second Gospel, and one which is also able to give this verse an appropriate place in its present position in the paragraph 8.14-21, providing that the rest of this paragraph is understood in the way which has been suggested in this discussion. On the meaning of the two miracles of the loaves advanced in this article, Jesus, in the rest of the paragraph is trying to convince the Twelve that they have plenty of bread for Gentiles, and that they are to take the Gospel to the Gentiles. The above explanation of 8.15 will then make the starting point of this instruction an admonition against the opposite attitude. When Jesus warns the disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod, He is instructing them that national and religious exclusiveness must have no place in their conception of the scope of Christ's mission. Such racial narrowness can only obstruct the divinely ordained course of the Gospel. The Jews may have cast off Jesus; but the Gentiles were willing to receive Him and be fed at His hands. Jesus in consequence is ready to supply them with the bread of life; and where Jesus is, there is always enough bread for this purpose. Such appears to be Mark's reading of this section; and it is one which brings 8.15 and its context together into a real, logical unity—a unity which also reflects leading conceptions of the Second Gospel. Is not this some vindication of the correctness of the interpretation of 8.15 just put forward, and also of the contention that the Second Evangelist understood both miracles of the loaves to signify that the Lord would feed the Gentiles?

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[1] Cf. Matt. 2; Luke 3.19, 13.31 f, 23.11 f; Acts 4.27, 12; in addition to the Marcan passages and their parallels.

If, then, the foregoing examination of Mark's presentation of the miracles of the loaves has been sound, it leads to three conclusions: the Evangelist located both miracles on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee; he considered both the five thousand and the four thousand mainly Gentile multitudes; and in both of the miraculous feedings he saw a prefigurement of the extension of the Gospel to the Gentile world after Easter.[1]

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[1] It is often supposed that the miracles of the loaves prefigured the Eucharist; and I have discussed this theory in an article entitled 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St. Mark's Gospel' published in the *J.T.S.* Vol. III, Part 2, Oct. 1952, pp. 161-71.

BOOK REVIEWS

Authority in the Apostolic Age. By R. R. Williams, M.A., Principal of St. John's College, Durham, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishops of Durham and Chelmsford. Pp. 142 plus index. S.C.M. Press, 1950. 8s. 6d.

This book, the substance of which was given as the Burroughs Lectures in the University of Leeds in 1948, is an extremely valuable contribution to the discussion of a problem, about the importance of which no readers of this Journal are likely to be in any doubt. It is thoroughly scholarly and it is clearly and interestingly written. It consists of seven chapters, which are historical and expository and give an account of the actual exercise of various kinds of authority in the primitive Church, followed by two essays on the modern problem of authority.

The first chapter, 'Apostolic Authority in Action', is an illuminating study of 1 Corinthians. The Rev. R. R. Williams sets out to discover what authorities were actually assumed both by St. Paul and his readers. He finds five main grounds of appeal: the experience of the Corinthians at and after their conversion; a general stock of knowledge and accepted practice; the Old Testament; Paul's own status in relation to his readers; and, finally, the moral and spiritual welfare of the Church as a whole. Mr Williams then follows up these clues in chapters on the authority of history, of the ministry, of dynamic happenings (here he seeks 'to show the intimate connexion which existed in the apostolic age between *exousia* and *dunamis*, authority and power'), and finally of common practice. In Chapter VII he draws together his results, or, to use his own metaphor, puts together the various pictures he has drawn in the preceding chapters, 'to see whether they will make up a larger picture from which can be deciphered the essential nature of authority as understood in the apostolic age'. God had acted authoritatively in the ministry, teaching, death and resurrection of Jesus. This particular history was therefore authoritative. The Good News, proclaimed 'with power', led to 'the formation, in one city after another, of communities which together made up the New Testament Church, a body whose nature, structure, and development was authoritatively controlled by the purpose which God had designed for it'. For instance, unity was part of this purpose and therefore of unavoidable importance. A local Church was not left to itself to develop on any line that its members' fancies might prompt, but was related to a larger whole, God's purpose for His Church. That purpose found expression in certain outward forms. Scripture was one, though still only partially formulated. Another, still in a rudimentary state, was a ministry of specially authorised persons. 'In the New Testament Church a certain authority does undoubtedly attach to "the ministry" ', but the organisation of it 'seems to have been still in a fluid state'. The ministry was regarded as God's gift, but it 'existed for the Church, not the Church for or by the ministry, except in so far as the ministry, in the form of the apostolate, had been the empirical means of evangelising the heathen'. Through all these forms of authority it was felt that the supreme authority of Christ the Head of the Church was exercised. The right to mediate His authority was not the monopoly of any one channel. 'The right, if it lay anywhere, lay in the whole Church, and then only in so far as the whole Church was obedient and responsive to the Spirit.'

The first of the additional essays is a survey of the modern discussion of authority in the Church and gives an account of the contributions of James Martineau, A. Sabatier, John Oman, P. T. Forsyth (whose *The Principle of Authority* Mr Williams describes as 'one of the greatest treatments of the subject . . . in the English, if not in any, language'), A. E. J. Rawlinson, and T. A. Lacey. The concluding essay, which includes sections on the Bible, the Church, and the Ministry, is a most valuable study of the contemporary problem of authority. Its importance is out of all proportion to its length—only 19 pages. While acknowledging indebtedness to the Liberal Evangelical school of thought, the author admits that he has expressed 'a balance of emphasis not always associated with liberalism or evangelicalism'.

It might perhaps be questioned whether it is fair to Barth to give the impression (p. 126) that he denies that 'throughout the created world there is an expression, limited no doubt, of the same mind which was in Christ Jesus'. Is it not rather true to say that Barth's contention is not that God has not in any way expressed Himself in His creation, but that on the one hand fallen man is incapable of knowing God through it, and on the other, when we have been enabled to know God through His self-revelation in Christ, we have no business to engage in the futile pursuit of trying to supplement our knowledge from other sources? Perhaps it is also rather unfortunate to give the impression (p. 127) that Barth could be altogether unsympathetic to what is said under (*b*). Perhaps a Reformed Churchman might also wish that it had been made clearer that the authority of Church and Ministry, though undoubtedly real, are on a lower level than that of Scripture, though this certainly is implied.

This is a book for which we may be profoundly grateful. Its importance is far greater than its size might suggest; for Mr Williams has packed a very great deal of sound scholarship into a short book, and he has done it in such a way that his book is a pleasure to read.

There are a few misprints: at the bottom of p. 32 'Matt. x.48' cannot be right; thirteen lines from the bottom of p. 68 'to' would seem to be wrong; on p. 82 we have 'here' instead of 'hear'; at the bottom of p. 84 'chapter x' should be 'chapter v'; on p. 100 twelve lines from the bottom the second 'of' should presumably be 'on'; and on p. 110 'subjects' should be 'subjection'. Possibly there is a misprint also five lines from the top of p. 91.

C. E. B. Cranfield

St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments. The Protocatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses. Edited by F. L. Cross. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

The student of patristics will be very grateful to Professor Cross for this learned and careful edition of the catechetical discourses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, which forms No. 51 in the S.P.C.K. *Texts for Students.* This is a most useful and admirable publication, with a valuable introduction on the historical and theological background, and many interesting and illuminating notes. A good bibliography is added also. The Greek text is published in full (without notes of the variant readings), and at the end of the volume the translation of R. W. Church is reproduced.

Dr Cross rightly emphasises the importance of these Lectures delivered in Jerusalem *c.* A.D. 348, particularly for the light they throw upon fourth century liturgical practice. They give a vivid and impressive picture of the Baptismal rite in Jerusalem, and provide more details about the Eucharistic rite than any other Eastern source of so ancient a date. Particular importance attaches to Cyril's mention of the *Epiclesis* and omission of the *Anamnesis.*

Following Baumstark (*Liturgie Comparée*) Professor Cross points out that the interest in the Lord's earthly life which contact with the sacred sites in Jerusalem aroused gave a wholly new orientation to the liturgy. 'In earlier Christian times worship had been suprahistorical in its relationship to the Lord's humanity. There was the one annual feast of Easter (the Passover), and this festival had commemorated simultaneously the Incarnation, the Redemption, and the Resurrection, and the Ascension, that is, the whole range of God's redemptive activity for mankind. But the effect of the interest in the historic aspects of Christ's life was to bring about a differentiation. A whole cycle of separate feasts from Christmas to Ascension Day gradually came into being and led to the creation of the Christian Year. There thus arose what Abbot Fernand Cabrol, and after him, Dom Gregory Dix, have called the 'Sanctification of Time' (p. xix). Dr Cross further cites Dom Gregory's estimate of Cyril's influence upon liturgical development: 'To him more than to any other single man is due the successful carrying through of that universal transposition of the liturgy from an eschatological to an historical interpretation of redemption, which is the outstanding mark left by the fourth century on the history of Christian worship' (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 351, cited p. xxix).

This is an interpretation resting upon an un-Biblical contrast between eschatology and history which must be subjected to critical scrutiny. There is little doubt that the assimilation of the Christian sacraments to the Greek mystery cults in the early centuries had a damaging effect on the Church's understanding of eschatology and history, for Greek mysteries like Greek myths are the counterparts to timeless ideas and not to history. Thus the assimilation of the Greek mystery cult to the Christian sacrament which is essentially bound up with history and eschatology had the effect of transmuting eschatology into timeless mysticism and severing it from actual history. This process of deterioration was arrested to a considerable extent by the assimilation of the liturgy to the historic aspects of the life of Jesus, and it would seem to be there that St. Cyril's great importance lies. These lectures of Cyril are in fact remarkable for their combination of historical and eschatological understanding of redemption, a combination which the liturgical development was later to lose. They are to be interpreted, however, primarily in terms of the New Testament tradition, and not primarily in terms of that later development.

There is perhaps no more pressing need in patristic studies than the need to subject the whole notion of *development* to a thoroughgoing critical analysis. Too many patristic scholars in this country (like the late Dr Dix) operate quite uncritically with a notion of development that derives from Aristotelian sources instead of with the Biblical notion of development which is controlled throughout by eschatological fulfilment. It is this alien notion of development operating as an unconscious canon of interpretation which makes them read into patristic texts much that is not there, or makes them have quite a different aspect by reading back a doctrinal context that is not there. The latter procedure is evident again and again in the way de la Taille cites early patristic passages in his great *Mysterium Fidei*. It is difficult not to feel that Professor Cross does the same in his interpretation of the Eucharistic sacrifice as found in these catechetical discourses (p. xxxiii). One would have welcomed from him a fuller exposition of the theology of these discourses, and also his own translation, for however valuable that of R. W. Church, it fails utterly to bring out the strong eschatological cast in the Greek text which is all-important just on this matter of sacrifice.

There can be no doubt however that Dr Cross has done a great service in producing the text in such a handy form, and in setting the discourses so well in their historical context. We may conclude this review with his own estimate of St. Cyril's place in history. 'Even when full allowance is made for the fact that the *Catecheses* were addressed, not to a theologically proficient audience, but to catechumens and newly baptised, the impression we gain of Cyril is of a man of predominantly pastoral instincts, of good sense, conciliatory and essentially practical. He had little interest in the doctrinal controversies which left such a deep mark on his age, still less in speculation for its own sake. We miss in him the theological penetration of the Cappadocians or even the dogmatic concern of an Athanasius. But he was eminently qualified by his method of teaching, direct, straightforward, and to the point, to give catechetical instruction. His temperament and outlook go far to explain the ever-growing liturgical movement at Jerusalem. Indeed, at a time when the attention of Christendom was being directed afresh to the complex of events which form the temporal basis of the Gospel, it was singularly appropriate that a bishop such as Cyril, unmoved by the partisan politics or theological speculations of his day, should have presided over the fortunes of the Church at the historic centre of the Christian world' (p. xxxiii f).

T. F. TORRANCE

St. Ambrose on the Sacraments and on the Mysteries. Translated by T. THOMPSON, B.D., and edited with Introduction and Notes by J. H. Srawley, D.D. S.P.C.K. pp. vii+157. 10s. 6d.

ONE of the chief traditional glories of the Church of England has been her patristic studies. This English edition of St. Ambrose is in the true line of succession. It goes without saying that the translation is accurate, but it must be said that it is also readable. Dr Srawley's Introduction and Notes are precise, learned and comprehensive. No more need be said of it as an edition than that it is undoubtedly *the* translated edition to use.

These two treatises have had a chequered career. Both of them —but especially *On the Sacraments*—have been denied to St. Ambrose.

Not only the Reformers, on theological grounds partly, but even the Benedictines of St. Maur and Duchesne have doubted its authorship. Dr Srawley, however, ascribes them both to St. Ambrose, regarding *On the Sacraments* as addresses given by him in Easter week to the newly baptised and later used as material for a literary work, *On the Mysteries*. He sets out his arguments and evidence exactly and carefully in the Introduction, and certainly seems to prove his case.

As far as the Eucharistic doctrine contained in them is concerned, we are not surprised at Cranmer's desire to deny their Ambrosian authorship. What is surprising is that Cranmer and also Jewel could make such a good case out of such unpromising material. Unpromising chiefly in that St. Ambrose does not appear to have held a consistent doctrine, or, if he did, his thought was so much controlled by language that it led him into an extreme contradicting more moderate expressions. For example: 'And before the words of Christ it is a cup full of wine and water. When the words of Christ have operated, then and there it is made to be the blood of Christ which redeemed the people' (*On the Sacraments*, Bk. iv, Chap. 5, § 23, p. 91). Or again: 'Therefore thou hast learnt that what was bread becomes the body of Christ, and that wine and water are put into the chalice, but become blood by the consecration of the heavenly Word' (*On the Sacraments*, Bk. iv, Chap. 4, § 19, pp. 89-90). But in apparent contradiction stands this: 'But perhaps thou sayest, "I do not see the appearance of blood". But it has the likeness; for as thou hast taken *the likeness of the death*, so also thou drinkest the likeness of the precious blood, that there may be no shrinking from actual blood, and yet the price of redemption may effect its work' (*On the Sacraments*, Bk. iv, Chap. 4, § 20, p. 90). And also this: 'Accordingly, lest others should say this, feeling a shrinking from actual blood, and that yet the grace of redemption might remain, therefore thou receivest the sacrament in a similitude, but truly obtainest the grace and virtue of the nature' (*On the Sacraments*, Bk. vi, Chap. 1, § 3, p. 109). We are forced to say, either that there is a contradiction within St. Ambrose's Eucharistic doctrine, or that the one of these ideas must be interpreted by the other. If we said the latter, we should be faced with the intolerable problem of why he so vastly emphasises an 'advanced' doctrine, or, on the other hand, why he allows any place at all to the symbolic concept, especially in the form of our last quotation, which might have come from Calvin himself!

St. Ambrose is inconsistent. He tries to combine the symbolical view of the Sacrament hitherto held in the West alongside what Dr Srawley calls 'the unreflective realism which simply speaks of the elements as the body and blood of Christ' (p. 38) with the Eastern idea of the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. He fails, because he does not see that the symbolical is a limiting and defining concept. Once use it and all your language, however insistent, about the reality of the Body and Blood of Christ is necessarily defined in terms of symbolism.

These two little books have had a great influence in the Western Church. Nevertheless, they are not among the greatest Christian literature. Their importance is historical.

T. H. L. Parker

Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm. Selected and translated by a Religious of the C.S.M.V. 3s.

This is a most delightful and welcome publication. Long have we needed in modern English a volume of Anselm's devotions, and now we have one, well translated and beautifully set out. Nothing can ever take the place of the sonorous beauty of Anselm's Latin, but here something of that has definitely survived. The text used is that of F. M. Schmitt of the S. Anselmo College, Rome, published in this country by Thos. Nelson and Sons (*Sancti Anselmi Opera*, Vol. III). The selection has omitted the *Orationes* addressed to the Virgin Mary and to the Saints, as well as the *Deploratio virginitatis male amissae.* That has made this little book capable of wide use and distribution, and ministers of the Word will welcome it and find it particularly helpful—though one would like to see all of these prayers and meditations done into English, even some which Schmitt has rejected as unauthentic. Theologically, the devotional writings of Anselm are of the highest importance. It is failure to study these along with the *Proslogion*, *Monologion*, and *Cur Deus Homo* which helps to explain the tragic and persistent misinterpretation of Anselm's thought. Our debt to the anonymous translator will be particularly heavy if her work points us back to a fresh understanding of Anselm's theology. It was to this that the Reformation owed so much, as a comparison of Calvin's teaching about the Eucharist with that of Anselm makes clear—see the *Prayer before Receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord*, p. 22 f.

T. F. Torrance

Vid Abodomens Fot, 1924-49. Festskrift utgiven av Teologiska Fakulteten vid Åbo Akademi.

Åbo, capital of Finland from 1809-19, is a town in the south of the country with a population of about sixty thousand. Until 1827, when a disastrous fire burnt down almost the whole town, it was the seat of a university whose buildings, including its valuable library, were entirely destroyed. Thereafter the university was removed to Helsingfors, which was by that time the capital city. Åbo, however, remained the ecclessiastical capital and there the Lutheran Archbishop resides. It is also a gathering place for the Swedish speaking population which forms eleven per cent of the whole. In religious faith Finland, like all Scandinavia, is Lutheran. Åbo Academy was founded in 1924 to cater for the religious needs of those of Swedish speech. The project, mooted but a short time before, seemed impossible of accomplishment for many years until a large gift from a certain Anna von Rettig made it immediately feasible. Beginning in 1924 with three professors and five students, by 1947 the staff numbered five and the students had reached the number of thirty-two. Earlier, in 1935, it reached a maximum number of students—62. In all 194 students have been in attendance since it began, of whom 36 have been Finnish in speech.

Now, at the end of its first twenty-five years of life, the occasion has been celebrated by the publication of the above named volume of articles from past and present members of staff. The only unity in the volume otherwise is the religious interest of the articles. They range over a wide variety of subjects including Comparative Religions, Old Testament, New Testament, Systematic and Historical Theology, Church History and practical questions in the life of the Church today. All these questions are viewed from a post-Liberal and Lutheran angle. Very few of the articles have a narrowly Finnish, or even Scandinavian, interest but treat questions of wider import.

Helmer Ringgren pleads for a sense of historical perspective in dealing with other faiths and due regard for the settings of particular beliefs. Johannes Lindolom approaches the Old Testament in that attitude, readily admitting that the Old Testament is a human production—there can, therefore, be no going back on the usual critical methods in dealing with its problems—but taking care to stress that the Old Testament is the record of the revelation of God in history. For Christian faith the revelation of God is not a fixed and final knowledge about God but something dynamic, the action of God in life. So the Old Testament is the account of God's entry into the life of a people leading up to Christ's appearing.

Louisville Presbyterian Seminary Library

Space does not permit adequate review of Erik Sjöberg's treatment of the Old Testament, Rabbinic and New Testament attitudes to the nature of the after-life. From this it appears that Rabbinic and Greek views were not so far apart as has often been held, though important differences existed. We must also pass over the defence of the belief in the Virgin Birth put forward by G. A. Danell with the single remark that he has scarcely faced the very real difficulty of the subsequent actions of Mary towards Jesus at the beginning of his ministry.

Much interest at present attaches to Bultmann's attempt to free the Christian faith of what he calls the 'mythological' forms of the New Testament. Raphael Gyllenberg finds the attempt vain. We cannot, he feels, take for granted that even if we were able to cast aside the mythical form in which the message has come to us and clothe it in that of our time—for we must have some myth—we should retain the essential truths of the faith. But at any rate we must, as even Bultmann sees, face the central challenge of the Resurrection which cannot be made inoffensive for the natural man. His interpretation of the Resurrection—that the Church is the resurrection body of Christ—which he claims to be that of Paul, looks like an attempt to interpret the Synoptic stories somewhat in the spirit of Bultmann.

Ragnar Bring considers the unifying factor in different forms of Christian faith and finds it to be the living tradition of the action of God in Christ. This truth has been expressed in many forms but where as with Marcion and Arius the philosophical form threatened to oust the truth of God's action it was rejected. In other cases as with Melanchthon, who went back somewhat on the fine insights of Luther, Christian faith entered into the composition of what was really a mixed culture and thereby exercised an influence in shaping that culture. The Church's message to any particular age must certainly be influenced by the situation in that time but it must at the same time be in living contact with the *kerygma* of the Early Church. Tradition and Scripture belong together.

A very interesting treatment is accorded to the question of radical evil and goodness in man by Sigfrid v. Engeström in which he argues that while evil seeps into every realm of life so that no part of man's life is free of it, at the same time 'the Prince of Darkness must complain that all true evil is spoiled by moral scruples'.

Three articles are devoted to historical questions. One by Yngve Brilioth—possibly the best known in this country of all the contributors—is an appreciation of Cardinal Newman, whom the author looks on as a victim of the division of the Churches and therefore a pioneer in the cause of union. For Newman truth must be found in one Church, not spread over many, hence the agony of search which led at last to Rome. But the Rome of his time was not just the Rome of today and with certain Roman beliefs Newman was never at home, which makes him still the inspiration of modernism in Rome, though it must live underground. The other two articles deal with revivalistic movements in Finland. Early revivalism sprang from two sources, according to W. A. Schmidt, a revivalistic piety and an older Lutheran piety which came together in opposition to the moralism, springing from the Enlightenment, that had found its way into the Church. So revivalism in Finland, unlike that in some other parts of the world, remained within the Church and holds fast to its services, sacraments and theology. Ernst Newman's article, dealing with the Free Church influence in Finland in the 1880s, emphasises the leading part that English and American influence played and the interdenominational character of the movement. It did not show itself particularly in theology but in much the same way as the Oxford Group Movement of a later day. Life and not doctrine stood in the foreground. But questions of doctrine pressed in and splits developed leading some into independence of the Lutheran Church and others, especially Lutheran ministers, to withdraw support from the movement. Its value was that it won for faith many educated people of the upper classes at a time when criticism had brought an intellectual ferment causing great difficulties to many.

E. G. Gulin, Bishop of Tammerfors, in a short article urges that the Church must not be run on worldly lines but according to the inspiration of the Spirit. All gifts that the Spirit bestows must be used. But that is not so in the present-day Church. The labouring class are not properly represented among Church workers and women are not accorded their rightful place. Could these criticisms apply to Britain? Recent Finnish divorce laws, which make divorce easier, render it more urgent than ever that we should give attention to strengthening the marriage bond. That involves a clear understanding of the lives that people live and their actual difficulties and it might be aided by providing courses for those who contemplate marriage, talks with couples by the minister who is to marry them before marriage and also by courses for those who have been, say, five years married. In these ways problems might be ironed out before they led to separation.

Altogether a fitting tribute to a twenty-five-year-old. May its future fulfil its promise.

V. C. Pogue

Here I Stand . . . By Roland Bainton. Hodder & Stoughton.

'Luther's new insights contained already the marrow of his mature theology. The salient ideas were present in the lectures on Psalms and Romans from 1513 to 1516. What came after was commentary and sharpening to obviate misconstruction. The centre about which all the petals clustered was the affirmation of the forgiveness of sins through the utterly unmerited grace of God made possible by the Cross of Christ which reconciled wrath and mercy, routed the hosts of hell, triumphed over sin and death, and by the Resurrection manifested that power which enables man to die to sin and rise to newness of life. This of course was the theology of Paul, heightened, intensified and clarified. Beyond these cardinal tenets Luther was never to go. His development lay rather on the positive side in the drawing to practical inferences for his theory of the sacraments and the Church, and on the negative side by way of discovering discrepancies from contemporary Catholicism.'

This passage at the beginning of chapter four contains the essential thesis of a singularly attractive book, of which all the rest is expansion, illustration, and documentation. Professor Bainton leads up to this point with an account of Luther's pilgrimage from the time of his vow to enter the monastery to his entrance into the transforming secret of justification by faith. The background of contemporary piety is skilfully stated; Luther's exploration of the current avenues of salvation—the way of good works, the merits of the saints, confession and absolution, and the mystic way—is vividly described; the haunting doubts they left in his mind, culminating in the basic questioning of the many characters of God induced by his scholastic background are portrayed with sympathy and insight. Against this dark background the sensitive wisdom of Staupitz in harnessing his thinking and study to the Bible shines like a star in a stormbound sky.

It was his discovery in the realm of theology and experience which made Luther the Reformer. Out of his double task as professor and parish preacher came the onslaught on Indulgences which carried him further than he had ever dreamed. But no matter how far he went he was not breaking new ground. He was applying the central convictions that came to him as he pored over the Epistle to the Romans. The development of the Reformation along these lines is described with great verve and vigour. The attack on Indulgences with its far-reaching repercussions, the varying shifts and agents of papal diplomacy, the political skill of the ever-ambiguous and ever-helpful Frederick the Wise, the cross-currents and complications that entered into the developing Reformation, the difficulties encountered in restraining iconoclasts and of building the new structure solidly on durable foundations, the religious power and the huge moral force of Luther—all this, and much beside is woven into a fascinating story.

Altogether, this is a first-rate piece of work, written in a buoyant style that holds the attention from the beginning. There is nothing dry or academic about it, and it avoids the dullness associated at times with serious historical writing. Neither is there anything superficial in its treatment and it is not guilty of popularising, in the less worthy sense of that term. It is based on a marked familiarity with the sources, which are used with great effect when occasion calls, and a wide knowledge of the relevant literature, which never overweighs the author's own judgment, nor obscures the perspicacity of his style. The book is beautifully produced on good paper and with a most attractive dust-cover. One of the most engaging features is the wealth of illustrations which it contains, based on contemporary woodcuts, and which enliven and illuminate almost every page.

G. R. Bolster

The Gospel of St. Mark. A New Translation in Simple English. By Edward Vernon. Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.

A major difficulty confronting the Church, as every conference on evangelism reiterates, is the problem of communication. The good tidings are there for the world's need: but how are they to be communicated? It is clearly an urgent necessity that the message should be presented, not through the medium of an archaic terminology, but in the current language of the hour. Hence the importance of such a task as Mr Vernon has set himself in his new translation in simple English of the Gospel according to St. Mark. Here is a praiseworthy attempt to produce a version that may be read with immediate interest and understanding by 'the average intelligent child of twelve years old': though it is much to be hoped that many others will read and profit by these vivid pages. This is not a reconstruction of the English Authorised and Revised Versions, but a fresh translation based on Eberhard Nestlé's Greek text. Mr Vernon recognises that the way of a translator is hard, particularly when he is engaged on the most hallowed of themes; but disagreement on points of detail should not obscure the fact that this little book deserves the warmest commendation for its arresting rendering of the familiar narrative.

At some points—inevitably, in view of its express purpose—the translation passes over into paraphrase. The saying on the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is expanded thus: 'To call the goodness of God the work of the devil, and to call God's Spirit an Evil Spirit, is a sin beyond all forgiving.' With perhaps less justification Mark 2.27 becomes 'Rules such as keeping the Sabbath holy are not meant to burden people but to help them. People are more important than Sabbaths.' But what does the average Bible reader make of these words in the Authorised Version (7.11): 'But ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free'? Probably very little. But they do have an edge and meaning when we read: 'You allow a man to say to his parents, "I could have helped you, but I have promised my money to the Church instead." '

Biblical translation always involves a measure of theological interpretation; and perhaps it is in this region that most of the question-marks will appear. The eschatological force of the evangelist's impressive prologue to the ministry, 'Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of God', is not really reproduced when it becomes 'He began to tell out the Gospel about God's Spirit ruling in people's hearts and lives'. That *crux interpretum*, 9.1, is rendered: 'Some of you who are standing here will still be alive to see the Rule of God spreading over the world.' Is this all that Mark understood, or that Jesus intended? Uniformity of translation is deliberately eschewed. Thus 'Kingdom of God' is variously rendered 'To rule like a king amongst men' (1.15), 'how God comes to rule the hearts of people' (4.11), 'God's command of our hearts' (4.26), 'God's country' (10.15), 'the homeland of God' (14.25). This may make for simplicity and naturalness, but it loses the force that belongs to one trumpet-toned phrase constantly repeated, and it may be questioned whether the gain outweighs the loss.

But on every page there are vivid and striking turns of expression. This is how the Sower parable begins: 'You see that field over there —one day the farmer went out to sow that field with corn.' The cleansed leper is told to 'report to the Officers of Health'. When Jesus began to teach, 'people held their breath as they listened to Him'. That phrase, and others like it—'they broke into gasps of amazement' (of the healing of the paralytic), Peter 'didn't know what he was saying for they were all scared out of their wits' (of the Transfiguration)—help to convey something of that strange waft of the supernatural, that ἐξουσία, which, far more than any merely human or biographical interest, is the basic factor in Mark's Gospel. Mr Vernon has essayed a difficult task and performed it well. May we hope that he will put us still more deeply in his debt by further translations of this kind?

James S. Stewart

A Foreword to the Old Testament. By H. St. J. Hart. A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1951. 10s. 6d.

Here is a book that should prove invaluable to those who sincerely desire to understand the Old Testament and the *milieu* in which it developed. It contains the revised material of a pamphlet originally prepared in 1941-42 for the use of ordination candidates in H.M. Forces. It is written in clear and simple style, and is at the same time scholarly and authoritative. Its primary purpose is to introduce the uninitiated reader into the strange world of the Old Testament and to enable him to read it intelligently.

The author follows the general position taken by Wellhausen, S. R. Driver, and A. Lods of France. While cognisant of the fact that the 'Welhausen hypothesis' is now in disrepute among many Old Testament scholars, he prefers to skirt the many problems involved in this hypothesis for the sake of simplicity and clarity. While the ordinary reader does not wish to be burdened with divergent views, he should be made aware of them to avoid a one-sided view of the problem. However, the small, but important bibliography given at the back of the book should enable the reader to get acquainted with other views in greater detail.

The book consists of eight chapters. The first chapter serves as a general introduction to the problem of Old Testament studies. The reader is made aware of the language problem facing him, as well as the problem of Semitic concepts, so alien to the Western mind. He is told that the Old Testament must be studied with attention, sympathy, and imagination, in order to get the full benefit of such studies.

Chapter two gives a brief, but vivid account of the general background of Palestine and the history of Israel. This is no mean feat, in view of the complex and confused nature of Hebrew history. The reader learns many important facts, among which emerges the fact that the Old Testament does not come to us from all the twelve tribes of Israel, but from the two tribes of the southern kingdom of Judah. This is narrowed down to a group of men who accepted the Josiah reform as well as the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, and who remained in Palestine.

Chapters three and four deal with the Age of Conflict and the rise of the great Prophets who flourished during the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. Here considerable light is thrown on the real issues involved in this conflict. The prophets protested against two evils: (1) Polytheism, as it was practised by the Canaanites and adopted by the Hebrews; (2) the identification of Yahweh with the Canaanitish Baalim. In other words, it was a struggle between two doctrines of God. The Josiah Reformation of 621 sought to make Yahweh the unifying force of the Hebrews by destroying the 'high places' and by instituting a central sanctuary at Jerusalem. A knowledge of this period is indispensable to a proper understanding of Hebrew religion in general and of post-exilic Judaism in particular.

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Chapters five and six deal with the development of the priesthood and the appearance of the Scribes and Sages. In earlier periods, the distinction between prophet and priest was hardly perceptible, and the offering of sacrifices was not the peculiar function of the priest. After the Josiah Reformation, we find that priest was the only person who could sacrifice, and this function became more restricted to the priests connected with the one Sanctuary in Jerusalem. This gave rise to a powerful priestly class which tended to make Judaism a religion of ritual and of the book. Besides the priests there were the Scribes and Sages, who in post-exilic times played an important role in the life of Israel and in the development of the Old Testament as we know it today.

The last two chapters are concerned with the problem of the making of the books of the Old Testament. The author assumes that the books as we know them now were undoubtedly in existence before the 'Dark Age' (320-200 B.C.). According to 2 Esdras 14.19 ff and 2 Maccabees 2, a new edition of the books took place during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. These books were written by different scribes—scribes of the priests, scribes of the prophets, and scribes of the sages.

The author is very careful in giving ample relevant quotations from both Biblical and extra-Biblical sources, to corroborate certain points. Your reviewer does not hesitate to recommend this useful monograph to Bible teachers, college students and to the ordinary laymen who wish to have an intelligent understanding of the Old Testament.

LOUIS SHEIN

The Old Testament and Modern Study. Edited by H. H. ROWLEY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 25s.

AMONG the services which the Society for Old Testament Study renders to those who are seriously interested in Biblical and theological matters, a high place must be given to the volumes in which, at decent intervals of thirteen years, its members summarise for a wider public the contemporary position in the Old Testament field. The first of these, *The People and the Book*, edited by A. S. Peake, appeared in 1925, and was followed in 1938 by *Record and Revelation*, edited by H. Wheeler Robinson. Now we greet the third volume of similar essays by members of the Society, whose contents are described in a sub-title as 'A Generation of Discovery and Research'.

Old Testament study has made rapid progress—breath-taking at times—in the troubled years that have elapsed since *Record and*

Revelation appeared; to mention but one matter, the whole outlook for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible has been revolutionised by the discovery of the *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Professor Winton Thomas, who contributes the chapter on 'The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament' to our symposium, keeps his feet on the ground in his account of this discovery and its significance. He is not disposed to give a date to the Isaiah scroll (DSIa) at this early stage in its study, but permits himself the tentative observation that 'the scroll-text shows that the Massoretic text, if, as seems probable, it is junior to it, has been carefully transmitted from an earlier period, and that in the pre-Massoretic period it was essentially the same as we have it today'.

'No subject related to Biblical research has changed more rapidly and more completely during the thirty years from 1919 to 1949 than Palestinian archaeology.' With these words Professor W. F. Albright opens his contribution on 'The Old Testament and the Archaeology of Palestine', and he goes on to sketch the results of these thirty years' research in this field. He too refers to the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, and is much readier to commit himself to a date for them than Professor Thomas; DSIa comes 'from about the second half of the second century B.C.'. The chapter on 'The Old Testament and the Archaeology of the Ancient East' comes also from Albright's pen; he is the only contributor to be allotted more than one chapter. It is amazing how he manages to summarise such a wealth of discovery in one short chapter; it is impossible to compress it further. Two other foreign Honorary Members of the Society have contributed to the volume—Professor O. Eissfeldt of Halle-Wittenberg writes on 'The Prophetic Literature' and Professor W. Baumgartner of Basel on 'The Wisdom Literature'. At the end of his chapter Baumgartner tackles an interesting problem with a theological bearing—the problem of the presence of Canticles in the canon. His discussion of the problem leads him to the conclusion 'that the composition of the canon can only be understood historically'.

It was wise to entrust the chapter on Pentateuchal criticism to Professor C. R. North. Probably the most significant work in this field in recent years has been done in Sweden, and Professor North has studied this Swedish work more carefully than most British scholars. He sees the weakness as well as the strength of their position: 'The Uppsala scholars . . . seem again and again to select materials from anywhere they like, and to use them as they please.' The 'traditio-historical' method of Uppsala claims to oust the documentary hypothesis completely, but its results make it 'quite clear that if we bury the "documents", we shall have to resurrect them—or something very like them'. How complicated the Pentateuchal question now appears, by contrast with the view held thirty years ago, is illustrated by two diagrams at the end of Professor North's discussion. And he concludes with what may seem the paradoxical observation that 'if we must now, perforce, be less dogmatic about the History than we used to be, we may perhaps essay to write the Theology with fewer misgivings'.

Work on the Book of Psalms since Gunkel's epoch-making studies is reviewed by Professor A. R. Johnson, than whom probably no British scholar is better qualified to deal with this part of the Biblical field. He concludes his survey with a similitude, saying that 'while on the older critical view which is rapidly passing away, the Psalter was like a reservoir whose resources were deep but well-fathomed, the tendency now is to regard this reservoir as fed by a river, equally deep but far more mysterious, whose course still remains to be charted but the exploring of which promises to open up far wider and richer territories in the realm of Israel's faith than had hitherto been suspected'.

The remaining section of OT literature, the historical books, is treated by Professor Norman Snaith. Professor A. M. Honeyman deals with 'Semitic Epigraphy and Hebrew Philology', Professor G. W. Anderson with 'Hebrew Religion' and Professor Norman Porteous with 'Old Testament Theology'. These two last subjects are, of course, largely the same subject looked at from different viewpoints, but Professor Anderson emphasises the central theological principle of the Old Testament as clearly as though he were dealing with its theology, 'for the Old Testament does not contain a speculative religion, but bears witness to the acts of the living God'. Among the many good things in Professor Porteous's chapter, special attention must be drawn to his critique of Wilhelm Vischer. 'The impression left on one by much of Vischer's work is that here we have the writing of a consummate preacher who is not quite theologian enough to realise the consequences of some of the things he says.'

An epilogue, 'The Old Testament and the Modern World', is provided by the veteran scholar, Professor Theodore Robinson, who thus enjoys the unique distinction of having contributed to all three of the Society's symposia.

To summarise the contents of so varied and rich a volume in a review is impossible; the shortest summary that can be given has already been given by the editor of the volume, Professor Rowley, in his introductory article, 'Trends in Old Testament Study'. No serious Bible student, whether specialist or non-specialist, can afford to dispense with so expert and informative a statement of the present position and prospects of Old Testament learning. And readers of this Journal will mark with special approval the increasingly theological note which characterises so much contemporary Old Testament study.

F. F. Bruce

The Wings of Faith. By H. V. Martin. Lutterworth Press. 7s. 6d.

Although it is almost a century since the death of Kierkegaard, only in the last quarter of that century has he been recognised as a theologian with whom all Christian thinkers have come to terms. Many judge him to be the greatest force behind the dominant theological trends of the modern period, and, with Luther, the forerunner of the movements in our time which have sought to recover the Apostolic faith from the accretions and distortions that had come to obscure it. The translation of most of his writings into English, and especially the *Journals*, together with the massive and definitive biography by Professor Lowrie, has introduced many to this powerful, apocalyptic, if often difficult, unsystematic and elusive mind. But few will have time or aptitude to read this vast range of material. Even if they are to make the attempt, they require a short, simple, reliable introduction, and this is furnished by Dr Martin's book. In *Prophet of the Absolute* and *Kierkegaard—the Melancholy Dane*, he has already broken the ground. In the Foreword to the present book, Dr Lovell Cocks writes: 'Here is an excellent Baedeker to a rich and exciting terrain. It will not exempt the reader from the task of tackling Kierkegaard for himself, but it will show him how to do it.' Several short books of recent years have had the same objective, and this one does not fall behind any of them. It is a large tribute indeed when a man can describe another, as the author describes Kierkegaard, 'as the greatest formative influence in my Christian life and thought'.

Dr Martin maintains that Kierkegaard was always confronting himself with one primary question: 'What does it mean for me to become a Christian?' and, in answering it, he presents the HOW of faith as primary, and the WHAT of faith as secondary and derivative. 'Faith begins where thought leaves off'—which most readers would accept but wish to safeguard and qualify. Faith is essentially a personal relationship of confidence. 'Belief in' is not the same as personal trust, but surely in Christianity these two are joined and cannot be severed. It is repeatedly stressed in this book that, in Kierkegaard's view, faith is not capable of complete rationalistic comprehension. It is not only above reason, but incongruous with reason, for in 'the Divine world of eternity, reason comes up against a boundary beyond which it cannot operate successfully'.

In the strict sense, a Christian philosophy is a contradiction.

In the opening chapter, and elsewhere in the book, there is a useful review of the teaching on faith in such varied writers as Thomas Aquinas, Feuerbach, Hegel, Croce, Schleiermacher, Kant, Ritschl, Hermann, Troeltsch and Otto, with a note of the kind of criticism of them all that Kierkegaard would give. The view is advanced that, in most writers who have upheld the modern interpretation of Christianity, two main tendencies are evident—that Christianity is a body of divinely-revealed truth to be accepted on the authority of the Church, or Scriptures or some 'inner light', that Christianity is essentially in harmony with and the supreme expression of the highest development of the human spirit in all realms of life. Kierkegaard rejects both tendencies. 'Christianity is not a communication of knowledge, but a communication of existence. We are not saved by getting to know something we did not know before, but by the transformation of our existence and life through Divine Grace. The Gospel is not a religious philosophy, but God's active response to man's total despair.' Accordingly, New Testament religion is something absolutely unique, and is corrupted by philosophical theology.

Since faith is 'a qualitative encounter with the Divine', it is to be expected that the book should deal fully with the Person of Jesus Christ in whom alone the encounter takes place. We have an examination of Kierkegaard's emphases on 'the Incognito of Christ' in His earthly life, on Christ as 'a sign of contradiction' to the evil of the world, on Christ as 'The Eternal Contemporary'. Faith is in Christ, not in His teaching nor even in the historical details of His earthly life. This is one of his sharp, difficult paradoxes, and may easily be pushed too far; and it explains his rooted antipathy to Christian apologetics as being beside the point. We had better take an antidote here from Allan Richardson's book.

The book closes with a satisfying chapter on faith as the dynamic of the transformed and even transfigured life. Surprisingly perhaps, some good things are said on Christ as Example and Pattern. Kierkegaard's attitude to monasticism, poverty, celibacy and ascetisism is briefly discussed.

This is a compact, closely-argued, yet lucid book. Like all thinkers whose work is of the essence of recovery and corrective, Kierkegaard may often be too paradoxical, unbalanced, or extreme. Dr Martin does not conceal this, but perhaps he should have stressed it more. There is more in the criticisms of a man like H. R. Mackintosh than this devoted and deeply-indebted disciple of Kierkegaard is prepared to allow.

George S. Gunn

Social Democracy: 1815-1840: *The Social and Intellectual Background.* By LAURANCE JAMES SAUNDERS, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 21s.

THE title of this volume, suggestive of political rather than of social history, is not altogether apt to indicate its contents. The volume really consists of five studies of Scottish society in the transition period between 1815 and 1840, the author's general purpose being to examine the significance of 'democratic sentiments and expectations' in a Scottish setting at this point of transition. The five studies relate to rural change; urban development; social reform; parochial and national education; and the Universities and professions.

The subject-matter of the book is thus much more interesting and novel than its title might suggest. Moreover, the choice of period is highly significant. It would be difficult to find another in which social change was more pervasive, or in which development could be more readily assessed. The old rural society had begun to disintegrate—a Scotland with less than 8000 landowners in all, in which the landlord's influence was felt as controller of the restricted county franchise, as commissioner of supply, as patron of the living, as heritor, as justice of the peace, as a party to the appointment of the parish schoolmaster and to the administration of poor relief. The 45 hours spent, in 1815, in travelling from London to Edinburgh shrank in a few years to a fraction of that time. The expansion of heavy industry and growth in the factory system led to a startling increase, and also re-distribution, of population, raising new problems of housing, conditions of employment, poor relief, education, and parochial reorganisation.

Those changes are generally familiar, but Professor Saunders discusses them with a wealth of fresh illustration and fresh judgment. He is at his best in assessing the distinctive developments of the chief Scottish towns, in particular, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee.

It is appropriate that, here, special attention should be directed to Professor Saunders' very full treatment of the influence of social change upon religious life.

For example, it was in this period that the need to recruit cheap labour led to the first great influx of Irish Catholics. They quickly outnumbered the small community of Catholic Highlanders which had gathered in Glasgow at the close of the eighteenth century. By 1831, there were already 27,000 Catholics in Glasgow, and an equal number in the surrounding districts. Of the immigrants, Professor Saunders observes: 'Their Irish piety was to run permanently alongside rather than to fuse with the native Catholic tradition, which was Gallican in inspiration and restrained in expression' (p. 108).

Again, there was the remarkable, but somewhat neglected, story of the growth of missions to the remote Gaelic-speaking communities, furthered by the distribution of the Gaelic New Testament after 1769 and the Gaelic Bible after 1802. In these communities, where illiteracy had sometimes been as high as 70 per cent, the work of the itinerant catechist (immortalised in Stevenson's *Kidnapped*) was now replaced by systematic religious and educational instruction promoted by a series of Northern missionary societies founded in the early years of the century, whose efforts have stamped their peculiar religious character on many Highland areas. Finally, in 1824, an Act appropriated £50,000 for the erection of forty new churches in the Highlands—the 'Parliamentary' Churches.

Professor Saunders also records a number of significant religious developments of a minor character. Now began the conjunction of foreign missions with commercial enterprise abroad. At the first public meeting of the Glasgow Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa, it was ardently declared: 'Instead of forest depths where the tiger preys and the lion howls—there may the thronged city, the busy wharf, the crowded street, be hereafter seen, with all the glow of commercial life and the grace of social advancement; and instead of the war-whoops of contending tribes, the tyrant's lash, the clank of chains and thraldom's bitter sigh—there may be heard the voice of prayer, the sound of praise and the sweet music of the "church-going" bell!' (p. 393).

Now, too, republican principles, 'the direct expression of religious devotion', drove Dunfermline weavers, like the Carnegies, to emigrate:

> To the West, to the West, to the land of the free,
> Where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea,
> Where a man is a man even though he must toil,
> And the poorest may gather the fruits of the soil.

'But', adds the author, 'an emigrant weaver's son like Andrew Carnegie did not necessarily become a farmer' (p. 127).

Now, also, the improved position of the Scottish colliers led to some of them putting their sons to higher training. From the Portland colliery at Kilmarnock alone, in the fifteen years before 1845, no less than three colliers' sons entered the ministry.

But, from the religious standpoint, the chief result of the change in social conditions was the dislocation of the old parochial system, and the need for a new territorial evangelisation. In 1834-6, an attempt was made in Dundee to create nine new *quoad sacra* parishes to serve the fresh religious needs of the expanding town. The attempt failed and, in Professor Saunders' words, this 'partly explains the strength of dissent in a town with strong Reforming traditions and the religious variety in Dundee during the thirties was noticeable. In addition to Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, there were several strong seceding Presbyterian congregations, and appreciable numbers of Congregationalists, "Scotch" and other Baptists, Bereans, a local cult of "Glassites" and a group of Irvingites' (p. 138).

The chief effort to grapple with the parochial problem came, of course, from Thomas Chalmers, whose Glasgow ministry opened in the opening year of Professor Saunders' period. Not all will agree with Professor Saunders' estimate of Chalmers' work, to which he devotes a special chapter. 'His curative proposals were largely professional ones'—is a somewhat unsympathetic judgment of the evangelical passion behind Chalmers' efforts to establish a territorial system. Again, is it adequate to conclude that, in effect, what Chalmers looked for was 'the revival among the urban populations of the sobriety and independence of a virtuous peasantry' or to suggest, as Professor Saunders seems to do, that 'the agrarian emphasis of the Evangelical leadership' produced a rift with 'the self-conscious working-class groups'? It may be that, here, Professor Saunders is less than just to the real merits of Chalmers' work. But his criticism is made so dispassionately that even those who may be disposed to disagree with him should weigh with care his conclusions.

J. Randal Philip

Law and the Laws. By Nathaniel Micklem.

The task which the author seeks to accomplish is to relate theological and legal theory.

The first two chapters deal with Jurisprudence and Ethics, and Jurisprudence and Theology, respectively. The rest of the book deals with such diverse subjects as Natural Law, International Law, and The Concept of Positive Divine Law and The Common Good. The learned author modestly disclaims any specialised legal knowledge, saying that he is not learned in the law. He nevertheless displays considerable familiarity with legal doctrines. Mr Justice Wendell Holmes, who was a master of the Common Law, is quoted as saying that, in any particular case, the answer to the question of what is the law, is a somewhat hazardous prophecy of what may be decided by the Courts. The observation made by Principal Micklem upon this remark is that it is not as arbitrary as it seems, for the Court will be guided by principles some of which may turn out to be ethical or even religious. There is an interesting review of the principles of the law of contract, of tort, and of the criminal law, as a result of which the writer arrives at the conclusion that many of the main concepts of jurisprudence have not merely an ethical flavour but also an ethical basis and an ethical connotation. Lord Atkin, another master of the Common Law, said in the celebrated case of *Donoghue v. Stevenson:* 'the rule that you are to love your neighbour becomes in law you must not injure your neighbour. . . . Who then is my neighbour? The answer seems to be persons who are so closely and directly affected by my act that I ought reasonably to love them in contemplation as being so affected when I am directing my mind to the acts and omissions which are called in question.' Although, as the writer says, the reply given by the law seems prosaic by comparison with the divine injunction, it is very interesting to note that the law of tort has a flavour of theology. The other portions of the book display that wide and accurate scholarship which one would expect from Principal Micklem. His work is of great interest not only to lawyers and theologians but also to members of the general public. The problems raised are dealt with in a most original and entertaining manner. The book is well printed, and readers of it will consider it well worth 15s.

G. A. MONTGOMERY

The Responsibility and Scope of Pastoral Theology Today. An Inaugural Lecture. By V. A. DEMANT. O.U.P. 2s. net.

PROFESSOR DEMANT has returned to the academic sphere after a quarter of a century spent in the active ministry and in seeking to interpret theologically the social life of our times. He has returned to be Regius Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford, where it is required of him that he 'shall lecture and give instruction in Moral and Pastoral Theology, in the duties of the Pastoral Office, and in such subjects as Christian Ethics, both Social and Individual, Ascetic and Mystical Theology, and the study of the various types of Christian Experience'. In his Inaugural Lecture he gives his interpretation of these 'embarrassingly comprehensive' requirements.

It is of interest that he hopes to see in his classes not only those who intend to be ministers but those who will be the future occupants of legal, business and administrative posts, and who desire to see the significance of their work and daily living in the light of the Christian commitment.

Moral Theology reminds us that, as we face up to that commitment, we are apt to do violence to our true nature by ceasing to act as spirit-centred creatures and that in fact we are unable to keep for long our spirit-centred character except by surrender to the restoring power of God. Christian conduct in other work is the conduct of 'eucharistic man'. It is here that devotional and ascetic theology come in.

Professor Demant makes a quite sharp distinction between Christian ethics and Moral Theology and says that unless Christian ethics have repeated recourse to Moral Theology they are bound at critical points in history to lose even their moral grip upon mankind. It is difficult to follow his distinction here. His assertions may be true of ethics but most of what he claims for Moral Theology could be asserted of *Christian* ethics.

There is a corpus of learning which uses the terminology of Moral Theology and Professor Demant sees much of his task in bringing to bear that traditional corpus on modern dilemmas, though he is clear that some re-interpretation will require to be given. To his mind there is too much large talk about 'applying Christian principles' when the adjective Christian means little more than well-meaning, and when the attempt has no support from knowledge of what, in fact, the Church has had to say about these matters. The contemporary world 'with its uncontrolled dynamism' seems to him to call not for the framework of established Christian lecturing. On the question of war, for example, which 'comes under the heading of commutative justice', the Christian should refuse to be stuck on the dilemma thrown to it by the world: namely, either no war at all or all means are legitimate. 'Commutative justice' certainly seems to require a good deal of interpretation and paraphrase.

Professor Demant looks forward to conferences of those of experience in the secular sphere with moral theologians, professional and pastoral, who know the framework of the traditional teaching. We of the north despite our long suspicion of casuistry would send him a wave of the hand as he sets himself to his new work with our appetites sharpened by this Inaugural Lecture for the new work which will come from his hand.

William S. Tindal

Daniel Ernst Jablonski and the Church of England. A Study of an Essay towards Protestant Union. By Norman Sykes. S.P.C.K. 2s. net.

In this Memorial Lecture delivered at Queen's College, Birmingham, Professor Norman Sykes opens a window into the world of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and especially upon the ways and doings of Daniel Ernst Jablonski, student at Oxford, court preacher in Berlin and bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Others whom we should like to follow pass by—men like the Scot, John Dury, ' "a tireless traveller in the work of peace", in which he had made himself too literally all things to all men'; Leibnitz also in the midst of ecclesiastical negotiation; and an Anglican Archbishop who did not answer his letters with disastrous consequences.

Certainly in Jablonski the Anglican Church found a great admirer and the Ecumenical Movement of today one of its forerunners. His great desire was to bring together the Lutherans and Calvinists, and this he thought could best be done by their joint acceptance of the Anglican Prayer Book, or something very like it, and episcopacy in its Anglican form. The Church of England, as Professor Sykes says, was to be both mediator and exemplar of the proposed union.

Jablonski was well able to give reasons for his convictions. He is specially interesting when he comes to reflect on the essentials of divine service. The sermon is not its most essential and principal element. Three criteria are laid down for the compilation of offices of public worship—Holy Scripture, sanctified reason, and the example of the primitive church.

His schemes for union failed. The key people all seemed to die just when they were needed most, and the Church of England drifted out of close relationship with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Europe.

The two world wars of this century have renewed the contact, and Professor Sykes has interesting comparisons to make and lively counsel to give. 'Unless the principle of agreement in fundamentals only and allowance of difference of belief in non-essentials be accepted, it is difficult to see how the work of ecclesiastical union can be begun, not to say concluded.'

It is to be hoped that many in Scotland will read this lecture at this time when conversations are resumed between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England, for in these few pages we understand not only what Jablonski thought of the Church of England but some of the central convictions and workings of the Anglican mind.

William S. Tindal

SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION[1]

by PROFESSOR DR OSCAR CULLMANN

I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNIQUENESS OF THE APOSTOLATE

THE problem of the relationship between Scripture and Tradition is in the first place a problem of the theological relationship between the apostolic period and the period of the Church. All the other questions depend on the solution that we give to this problem. The alternatives—co-ordination or subordination of Tradition to Scripture—derive from the question of knowing how we must understand the fact that the period of the Church is the continuation and unfolding of the apostolic period. For we must note right away that this fact is capable of divergent interpretations. That is why agreement on the mere fact that the Church continues the work of Christ on earth does not necessarily imply agreement on the relationship between Scripture and Tradition. Thus in my thesis developed in *Christ and Time* as well as in my studies on the sacraments in the New Testament I came considerably nearer to the 'Catholic' point of view. In fact I would affirm very strongly that *through the Church* the history of salvation is continued on earth. I believe that we find this idea throughout the New Testament, and I should even consider it the key for the understanding of the Johannine Gospel. I would maintain, moreover, that the sacraments, Baptism and Eucharist, take the place in the Church of the miracles performed by Jesus Christ in the period of the Incarnation. And yet I am going to show in the following pages that I subordinate Tradition to Scripture. Vice versa, certain 'Catholic' expositions of the unique role played by the period of the Apostles in the story of Revelation seems to come curiously near to the 'Protestant' point of view. And yet their authors resolutely co-ordinate Scripture and Tradition and set them side by side. This means that there is a need to define exactly the temporal relationship of which we have spoken.

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[1] Translated by the Rev. D. H. C. Read, B.D. This is a sequel to '"Kyrios" as Designation for the Oral Tradition concerning Jesus', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 180 ff. This article in French appears in the current issue of *Dieu Vivant*, 23.

The time within which the history of salvation is unfolded includes the past, the present, and the future. But it has a centre which serves as a vantage-point, a norm, for the whole stretch of this history, and this centre is constituted by what we call the period of direct Revelation, or the period of the Incarnation. It consists of the years from the birth of Christ to the death of the last Apostle, that is to say the death of the last eye-witness who saw the risen Jesus and who received, either from the incarnate Jesus or the risen Christ the direct and unique order to bear witness to what he had seen and heard. This witness can be either oral or written.

All the particular segments of total time derive their meaning from these few years which are the years of the revelation. If we want to assign to them a date in accordance with secular chronology, we can only do so approximately, because we do not know the exact date of the birth of Christ or of the death of the last Apostle. We can say, however, that they are the years which run from about the year 1 to the year 70 or 80 of our era, without these being taken as exact limits—all the less so in that the written witness of certain Apostles was fixed only after their death.

If we consider the Christian faith from the point of view of time we should say that the scandal of the Christian faith is to believe that these few years, which for secular history have no more and no less significance than other periods of history, are the centre and the norm of the totality of time. This is a scandal of which our usual manner of reckoning the years from the year 1, which is supposed to be the year of Christ's birth, can be considered as a symbol. It is only from the starting-point of the events of these central years that faith sees the history of salvation unfolding in two directions, backwards and forwards, within secular history. It is only in the light of these years that it speaks of the history of a chosen people which moves towards the Incarnation of Christ. It is only in the light of these years that it awaits a fulfilment of all things linked with a return of Christ, and it is above all in the light of these years that it believes, in the present time, in a Church-body of Christ by which the Lord exerts His contemporary rule over the universe.

The problem of Scripture and Tradition concerns the place which we assign to the period of the Church with reference to the period of the Incarnation. This period of the Church is part of the history of salvation. We would deliberately underline this over against a narrow Protestant position which does not assign to the period of the Church any value *sui generis* in the history of salvation, and which recognises no other possibility of being a Christian than that which consists in living in the past time of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and of the Apostles. This is to fail to recognise that the Christ reigns now and that the Church is the centre of His universal reign.

But this affirmation is not enough. Like every other period in the history of salvation, the period of the Church must be defined and determined from the centre. Just as the past appears to us as the period of the preparation (the 'Old' Testament), and the future as that of the final fulfilment, so the period of the Church is the *intermediate* period. Intermediate: for the decisive event has already taken place, but the final fulfilment is yet to come. The miracles of the years 1-70 continue to happen, and yet neither the absolute of the central period nor the absolute of the fulfilment are realised: a period essentially intermediate. The Church shares in this intermediate character. It is indeed the body of Christ, resurrection-body, but being composed of us sinners, still sinners, it is not just simply the resurrection-body. It remains at the same time a terrestrial body which can not only be crucified, but which shares in the imperfections of all terrestrial bodies.

This is to say that the period of the Church is a prolongation of the central period, but that it is not the central period: it is a prolongation of the period of the incarnate Christ, but it is not the period of the incarnate Christ and of His apostolic eye-witnesses. The Church is built upon the foundation of the Apostles. She will continue to be built upon this foundation as long as she exists, but at the present period she can no longer produce Apostles.

In fact, the Apostolate is by definition a unique function which cannot be prolonged. According to Acts 1.22 the Apostle is a unique, because direct, witness of the resurrection. Moreover he has received a direct order from the incarnate or risen Christ. On the model of the Jewish *shaliach* he is 'as him that sent him'. He cannot transmit to others his completely unique mission. After having discharged it he gives it back to Him who has confided it to him: the Christ. That is why in the New Testament the Apostles alone fulfil exactly the functions which are those of Christ Himself. The missionary command that Jesus gives them in Matthew 10.7 ff corresponds exactly to the mission which in His reply to John the Baptist (Matthew 11.6) Jesus assigns to His own person as Messiah, to heal the sick, to cast out demons, to raise the dead, to preach the good news. That is why the New Testament attributes the same images as are applied to Jesus to the Apostles: 'rocks', and the corresponding images of 'foundation', 'pillars'. Never are these images used to designate the bishop.[1]

The function of bishop which is transmitted is essentially different from that of Apostle which cannot be transmitted. The Apostles institute bishops, but they cannot delegate to them their function which cannot be renewed. The bishops succeed the Apostles, but on a completely different level. They succeed them, but precisely not as Apostles but as bishops, also an important function for the Church, but clearly distinct. The Apostles did not institute other Apostles but bishops. That is to say that the Apostolate does not belong to the period of the Church but to that of the Incarnation of Christ.

The Apostolate consists in the witness given to Christ. It is true that the Church also gives witness to Christ. But she can no longer give that direct witness which characterises the witness of the Apostles. Her witness is a *derived* witness because it no longer rests on the direct Revelation which was the privilege of the Apostle alone—the *eye*-witness.

The Epistle to the Galatians makes the clearest, the most explicit distinction between the preaching of the Apostle and the preaching of those who depend on the Apostles. (Galatians 1.1-12 ff.) The Apostle alone has received the Gospel δι' ἀποκαλύψεως (Galatians 1.12) and not δι' ἀνθρώπου (Galatians 1.1-12)—by direct Revelation without human intermediary.

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[1] Cf. Cullmann, *Petrus*, reviewed in this number by Professor Greenslade, p. 203.

The Apostle Paul agrees with his Judaising opponents on this point: an Apostle is one who has been called by Christ *without the intermediary office* of another; in other words, outside the succession of a tradition. The Judaisers reproached Paul precisely on this point of having received the Gospel by the intermediary office of other men and refused him, for this reason, the title of Apostle. Paul denies the fact stoutly, but he implicitly acknowledges that in fact he would not be an Apostle if he had not received the Gospel in a *direct* way from Christ.

To affirm like this the unique character of the Revelation given to the Apostles is not to deny the value of all post-apostolic tradition, but it is to bring it clearly down to the level of a human fact, even although the Holy Spirit can reveal Himself also through this agency. I have shown elsewhere that there is an apostolic tradition, and this is identified with the Kyrios Himself.[1] The Apostles compare their witnesses; for the richness of the Revelation demands a plurality of apostolic witnesses, as it demands a plurality of written Gospels, and they transmit to one another their unique and apostolic witnesses. This is a tradition, a *paradosis* which does not fall under the condemnation which Jesus pronounces with regard to the *paradosis* in general. There is one normative tradition: that of the Apostles considered in its diversity as a unity.

No writing of the New Testament emphasises so much as the Johannine Gospel the fact of the prolongation of the work of Christ incarnate in the Church of believers. It is the very object of this book to set forth this continuation. But it is precisely this Gospel which distinguishes clearly between the continuation by the Apostles which is part of the central period, and the continuation by the post-apostolic Church. The high-priestly prayer (chapter 17) establishes this line of descent: Christ—the Apostles—the post-apostolic Church. The members of the last are designated there as those who *believe because of the word of the Apostles* (John 17.12).

I have already said that the uniqueness of the Apostolate is emphasised, forcibly emphasised, by Catholic theology, but it seems to me that at the decisive moment it does not draw the necessary conclusions. For if one thinks through this important idea of the uniqueness of the Apostolate, one necessarily gets to the point of making an essential difference, also from the point of view of the Revelation, between *the foundation of the Church*, which took place in the period of the Apostles, and the *post-apostolic Church*, which is no longer that of the Apostles but of the bishops. There is consequently a difference between apostolic tradition and ecclesiastical tradition, the first being the foundation of the second, which excludes the co-ordination of the two.

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[1] *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 180 ff.

If the apostolic tradition ought to be considered as the norm of the Revelation for all time, the question arises: how can we make alive for us this witness which God has consented, for the salvation of the world, to grant to the Apostles at a period which we call the mid-point, the centre of time? The Catholic Church replies: by the apostolic succession, by the infallible teaching-office of the Church, by means of the ulterior, post-apostolic tradition. Thus the objective Revelation of God would come to us (1) by means of the Apostles, (2) by means of the ecclesiastical tradition which would make explicit the witness of the Apostles. But is the *uniqueness* of the Apostolate a guarantee of any such thing? It rests, as we have seen, on the immediate character of the Revelation granted to the Apostles, on the fact that it did not come to them through any intermediary: ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Galatians 1.12). The Apostle cannot therefore have any successor who could replace him in the role of bearer of the Revelation for future generations, but he must continue *himself* to fulfil his function in the Church of today: *in* the Church, not *by* the Church, but *by his word*, διὰ τοῦ λόγου (John 17.12); in other words, by his writings.

The oral and written word of the Apostles is, of course, not identical with the objective Revelation, with the divine Word itself, since human language—spoken and written—partakes of our weakness and consequently cannot be an adequate vehicle for the Word pronounced by the omnipotent God. But it is only by this means which is accessible to us that God can address us, and He has chosen the Apostles in order that it might be through their witness that the good news is transmitted to us. In order that *other* human elements should not penetrate this witness the Apostolate has precisely this character of uniqueness which can be safeguarded for us only by the *writings* of the Apostles. These writings maintain on the one hand the uniqueness of their mission, and on the other hand they ensure the direct action of the Apostles upon us, the men of the twentieth century.

Since it has thus pleased God to *restrict* the transmission of the Gospel of Christ to this one category of the contemporaries of Jesus, in order to *reduce to a minimum* its deformation by the human element, should the Church not do everything in her turn to respect this reservation? We shall see that the Church of the second century has in fact understood this necessity in creating the Canon of the New Testament and in taking care to admit only the writings of which she could actually guarantee the *apostolic* origin.

The fixing of the Revelation that God accorded to the Apostles—eye-witnesses—took place at the very period which we have called the mid-point of time, the centre of the history of salvation. No word pronounced or written later by other men belonging to the Church of Christ ought to be placed alongside the apostolic writings which, if they have not all been edited by the Apostles themselves, nevertheless all claim to be the immediate expression of their eye-witness.

The written witness of the Apostles is for us the living element which continually sets us anew face to face with Christ. If we realise the magnitude of this miracle—the *unique* ministry of the Apostles who lived at the time of the Incarnation actualised among us, in the twentieth century, not by ourselves or certain of our contemporaries, but by these Apostles themselves, men of the first century—we can no longer speak of the dead letter of the Bible. Yet this presupposes that we share the faith of the first Christians that the Apostles are not writers like other authors of antiquity, but men set apart by God for the execution of His plan of salvation by their witness, first oral, then written.

The Scriptural principle is therefore not, as one might believe, a simple application of the scientific principle which the Renaissance stressed: the necessity of resorting to the sources in order to study and understand an historical phenomenon. On the contrary, it is based on faith in this essential fact of the history of salvation—the setting apart, at the moment of the Incarnation, of the Apostles as unique instruments of the

Revelation of God in Jesus Christ. But it is true that through the natural consequences which it implies for theological method the Scriptural principle meets the scientific motto—back to the sources. This is the meeting-ground of historical science and Protestant theology.

If we believe with the first Christians that the divine institution of the Apostolate has had, in the economy of salvation, this sense of transmitting the Revelation of God in Christ in an *immediate* way (that is, by eliminating all other intermediaries, an evitable source of deformation) we ought to respect God's plan by reserving to the Apostolate this same function in our Church of today. The real presence of the Apostles in the Church of all periods is given to us in the New Testament. But we shall find it precisely in so far as we seek direct contact with these witnesses, eliminating in our turn the intermediaries.

Does this mean that the Church in which we are set by Baptism is not for us the place where the Holy Spirit is at work? This conclusion would be contrary to the faith attested by all the New Testament writings. On the contrary, according to this faith, the Holy Spirit who had previously been reserved for certain men of God became accessible after Pentecost to the whole community of believers. We must reckon seriously with this conviction of primitive Christianity. It implies that the work of the incarnate Christ is carried on in His Church; the history of salvation continues. There is no chasm between the Ascension of Christ and His Return. The Johannine Gospel was written to show that in leaving the world the Christ has not abandoned the world. The Holy Spirit is at work in it. There are still miracles of faith, as in the period of the Incarnation, as in the period of Jesus and the Apostles. And the great miracle of the redemptive death and the resurrection of Christ is given to the Church in the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion.

We could go even further. Inspiration through the Holy Spirit continues also in the sense that the *Paraklete* is the Spirit of Truth. There will still be Revelation. And yet the high-priestly prayer makes a clear distinction between the Apostles and those who believe 'because of their word'. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Johannine Gospel reports a special effusion of the Holy Spirit which took place before that spoken of in the Book of the Acts, on Easter day itself, and which was experienced by the Apostles only (20.22). The revelation of the Word of God continues in the Church, but it will no longer be a *norm*, a *criterion*, as is the Revelation granted to the Apostles. The Church will examine every later revelation but will always take as criterion precisely this norm of the apostolic witness. The Church will therefore not be a superior tribunal able to decree what must be added to this norm. *God speaks to the Church of today through the witness of the Apostles.* As long as there shall be a Church this witness of the Apostles will be a *sufficient norm.*

The apostolic witness has a double role: it engenders inspiration and acts as its controller, since in all inspiration there is a risk of other spirits putting themselves in the place of the Holy Spirit. Thus the Church will have the right and the duty to proclaim whatever, examined in the light of the apostolic norm, appears to her as a Revelation. In this way an ecclesiastical tradition is elaborated. It will have great value for the Church, and Protestantism is wrong in under-estimating this in principle. In any case it recognises it in fact by giving a large place in its teaching to the writings of the theologians of the sixteenth century and even to the decisions of the early councils. But whatever the respect owed by the Church to the tradition, and the importance attaching to it in the elaboration and understanding of Christian doctrine, it can never assume the same value as the apostolic tradition; it can never itself become a norm. A norm is a norm precisely because it cannot be expanded. We must not confuse *Revelation* and *criterion of Revelation*.

In practice the institution of the Apostolate, which is unique in the divine history of salvation, seems to us to be devalued by the infallible teaching-office of the Catholic Church. The uniqueness of the Apostolate is annulled by this teaching-norm. The period of the Apostles and the period of the Church are confused. It is true that the Catholic Church claims to *interpret*, only to explicate the apostolic witness by its decisions which constitute the tradition. But when the ecclesiastical interpretation assumes the same normative value *for all periods* as the apostolic norm itself, does the affirmation that there is only interpretation not become a fiction? Is it not the characteristic of a true interpretation not to have the same definite character as is possessed by the norm itself? Certainly we must always consult the interpretations of the norm which have been given in order to understand it, but we must always be ready to revise them, and even to abandon them, by setting oneself precisely before the norm itself; this is to say, precisely by eliminating the screen of later interpretations.

Moreover has the Catholic Church not tended to abandon, if not in theory certainly in fact, the fiction that tradition equals interpretation of Scripture, when in justifying the dogma proclaimed in 1950 it does not waste time in giving a Scriptural foundation, but relies on the *consensus* of the Church, as if collective inspiration in the Church has no longer any need at all to be controlled by the apostolic witness; as if it were sufficient to control it by the infallible teaching-office of the Pope?

None the less Catholic theology will always oppose the affirmation of the superiority of Scripture to Tradition by the argument that the Scripture *needs to be interpreted*. We willingly concede this necessity. For, as we have already said, the Apostles used the imperfect instrument of human language, and moreover languages and forms of thought that are no longer ours. We are likewise of the opinion that the Church ought to take more seriously than is the case in the Protestant Churches the teaching-office, the duty of pronouncing as Church in matters of exegesis. She ought to take up a position regarding any interpretation proposed by the exegetes, and she ought to pray for the help of the Holy Spirit when exercising this teaching-office. She ought to translate the Biblical message into the language of today. But in doing this, she ought to know that she is fulfilling her duty for her period, and that she is not doing a work which, like that of the eye-witnesses, binds all the future centuries of the period of the Church, so that future generations will be bound by her decisions in the same way as they are bound by Scripture. Former decisions of the Church will serve as guides to the exegetes, but not as norms, not as criteria.

Even when there is the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in every interpretation of the Scripture there is a human element. I repeat that there is also this human element in the apostolic writings themselves, which are already a transposing of the divine Word into human language. But behind them there are the Apostles, the eye-witnesses. The human element is here reduced to an *inevitable minimum inherent in the very notion of a divine Revelation to man.* If, on the other hand, we set between Scripture and ourselves as a norm the total collection of official interpretations given in all past centuries by the Church, then errors which are insignificant when considered singly, are amplified by virtue of a development which no tradition transmitted by men who are not eye-witnesses can escape. The chronological question necessarily comes into play here: this is why the period of the Church cannot be normative as is the period of the *foundation* of the Church.

Otherwise our interpretation would risk coming under the condemnation pronounced by Jesus on the *tradition* (Mark 7.9): 'Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.' The interpretation which the rabbinic tradition had given to the commandment to honour father and mother was considered also to be faithful to the divine Word, to shed light on a written commandment which was not clear in itself, and yet Jesus recommends here, as in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, the necessity of returning to the Word itself to get from it the divine intention without going through the intermediacy of a traditional interpretation.

But is this not to miss the fact that everything has been changed by the coming of Christ, by the existence of a Church of Christ? Is it not a blasphemy thus to assimilate the tradition of the rabbis and the tradition of the Church? With this objection we come back to our starting-point: the distinction which can be drawn between the period of the Incarnation and the period of the Church. For to make this distinction amounts exactly to saying that there is tradition *and* tradition within the Christian field. There is an apostolic tradition which is a norm because it rests upon eye-witnesses chosen by God, and there is a post-apostolic tradition which is a valuable help for the understanding of the divine Word, precisely on condition that we do not consider it as a norm. While accepting humbly the *exegetical directives* of the Church and its teachers we must remain ready to set ourselves face to face with the tradition of the Apostles, as the Apostles themselves were face to face with the divine Revelation itself (Galatians 2.12), without the intermediacy of any interpretation.

It is true that the same Holy Spirit who inspired the Apostles is at work in the Church, and the Church is the place where Christ manifests His presence. 'Quench not the Spirit', says St. Paul to the Thessalonians, but he knows too that other spirits are at work in the Church itself. That is why he adds: 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' To say that inspiration needs to be controlled is not to deny it. But we add: to say that the teaching-office of the Church needs to be controlled is not to deny it: it must be controlled by the word of the Apostles.

II

The Significance of the Fixing of the Canon by the Church of the Second Century

To determine the connexion between Scripture and Tradition we began, in the preceding exposition, from the very foundation of the Christian Church, that is to say from the period which we call the central period in the history of salvation, the period of Jesus and His Apostles. Thus we have interrogated the New Testament about our problem and we have found that the idea of the Apostolate, or more exactly of the uniqueness of the Apostolate, has forced us to give the answer which we have thought must be given. By centring all our argumentation on this idea of Apostolate we have been considering so far only the New Testament as Scripture, that is to say the direct witness of the Apostles to the fundamental facts of the work of the incarnate Christ and their own acts.

Now we are about to deal with the question from the starting-point of the history of the primitive Church, and we are going to find out if this will confirm our results. If we have just been looking for the answer to our problem in Scripture, we are now going to look for it, as it were, in the tradition. Here we shall insist on the fact that *the infant Church itself made the distinction between apostolic tradition and ecclesiastical tradition*, subordinating the latter clearly to the former.

Catholic theology, in order to combat the thesis of the superiority of Scripture, lays much stress upon the fact that

Tradition is anterior to Scripture. This is a fact that no one will think of denying, provided however that one notes that it is a question of the priority of the *apostolic* tradition. But if one can demonstrate that the Church herself recognised an essential difference between the tradition before and the tradition after the establishment of the Canon, the fact of the priority of the oral apostolic tradition over its fixation in writing will prove nothing about the tradition as such. We shall speak first about the origin of the first Christian writings, then about the origin of the Canon.

In fact, of course, the oral tradition of the Apostles precedes the first apostolic writings. The oral tradition prior to the first writings was certainly quantitively richer than the written tradition. But we must ask what is the significance of the fact that the Apostles, or the mouthpieces who served them as secretaries, at a given moment took up the pen to give this tradition a written form. This is a fact of the very greatest importance *for the history of salvation.* Its meaning cannot be other than that of having delimited the oral tradition of the Apostles, so as to make of the apostolic witness in this form a definitive *norm* for the Church, at the moment when she was going to expand into the whole world and had to be built up until the Kingdom of God itself was established. If one admits that the oral tradition of the Apostles had been confided as a deposit to the Church in order that she might, in the course of centuries, draw from it elements which are not to be found in the apostolic writings, then the fact of the coming into being of writings which have for authors men whom the Church calls 'sacred authors' is completely minimised. The writings of the Apostles are devalued to the point of becoming instruments which are useful indeed but in no way indispensable. In actual fact the theory of 'secret', not written, traditions of the Apostles was elaborated by the Gnostics, and the Church herself drew attention to the consequent danger.

If on the other hand the written fixation of the witness of the Apostles is one of the *essential facts of the Incarnation* we have the right and the duty to assimilate apostolic tradition and New Testament writings, and to distinguish both from the post-apostolic, post-canonical tradition. We shall see that the rule of faith which was transmitted in oral form has, however, been accepted as norm alongside of Scripture only because it has been considered as having been *fixed by the Apostles*.

But did the primitive Church herself really distinguish between apostolic and post-apostolic tradition? This is the moment to speak about the establishment of the Canon by the Church of the second century. We are in complete agreement with Catholic theology when it insists on the fact that *the Church herself* made the Canon. We even find in this fact the supreme argument for our demonstration. The fixing of the Christian Canon of Scripture signifies precisely that *the Church herself*, at a given moment, traced a clear and firm line of demarcation between the period of the Apostles and the period of the Church, between the time of foundation and the time of construction, between the apostolic community and the Church of the bishops, in other words between apostolic tradition and ecclesiastical tradition. If this was not the significance of the formation of the Canon the event would be meaningless.

In fact, we must recall the situation that led the Church to conceive the *idea* of a Canon. About the year 150 there is still an oral tradition: we know this from Papias who wrote an exegesis of the words of Jesus. He tells us himself that he used as a basis the 'viva vox' (φωνὴ ζῶσα) and that he attributed more importance to it than to the writings. But from him we have not only this declaration of principle: he has left us some examples of the oral tradition such as he found it, and these examples show us well what we ought to think of an oral tradition about the year 150! It has an entirely legendary character. We can be persuaded of this by examining the story that Papias reports about Joseph Barsabbas, the unsuccessful candidate, according to Acts 1.23 ff, for the post of twelfth disciple, vacant as a result of Judas' treason. Above all we must mention the obscene and completely legendary account of the death of Judas Iscariot himself.

About 150, on the one hand, one is relatively near to the apostolic period, but on the other hand, one is yet by this time too far away for the living tradition still to offer in itself the least guarantee of authenticity. The oral traditions which Papias echoes arose in the Church and were transmitted by the Church. For outside the Church no one had any interest in describing in such crude colours the death of the traitor. Papias was therefore deluding himself when he considered the 'viva vox' as more valuable than the written books. The oral tradition had a normative value in the period of the Apostles, the eye-witnesses, but no longer in 150 after it had passed from one mouth to another.

The traditions reported by Papias are not the only ones. From the same period we have the first apocryphal Gospels which made a collection of other oral traditions. It will suffice to read these Gospels, one of which tells of the infant Jesus manufacturing living sparrows, carrying water in His smock, miraculously killing comrades who were troubling Him; or else to read the numerous apocryphal Acts, in order to realise that the tradition, in the Church, no longer offered any guarantee of veracity, even when it claimed a chain of succession. For all these traditions were justified by the establishment of chains going back to the Apostles. Papias himself also makes this claim when he says that he got his information from people who had been in contact with the Apostles. The teaching-office of the Church in itself did not suffice to preserve the purity of the Gospel.

By establishing the *principle* of a Canon the Church recognised in this very act that *from that moment* the tradition was no longer a criterion of truth. She drew a line under the apostolic tradition. She declared implicitly that from that moment every subsequent tradition must be submitted to the *control* of the apostolic tradition. In other terms, she declared: here is the tradition which *constituted* the Church, which imposed itself on her.[1] Certainly she did not intend by this to put an end to the continued evolution of the tradition. But by what we might call *an act of humility* she submitted all subsequent tradition to be elaborated by herself to the superior criterion of the apostolic tradition, codified in the Holy Scriptures. To establish a Canon is equivalent to recognising: henceforth our ecclesiastical tradition needs to be controlled; with the help of the Holy Spirit it will be controlled by the apostolic tradition fixed in writing; for we are getting to the point where we are too distant from the period of the Apostles to be able to guard the purity of the tradition *without a written norm recognised as superior*, too distant to prevent slight legendary deformations creeping in, and thus being transmitted and amplified. But at the same time this signified also that the tradition that was to be considered alone apostolic had to be *delimited*; for all the Gnostics boasted of secret traditions, unwritten, that claimed to be apostolic. To fix a Canon was to say: henceforth we renounce the right to consider as a norm other traditions that are not fixed by the Apostles in writing. Of course there may be certain other authentic apostolic traditions, but take as the apostolic *norm* only what is written in these books, since it has been demonstrated that by admitting oral traditions not written by the Apostles as norms we are losing the criterion for judging the validity of the claim to apostolicity made by the many traditions in circulation. To say that the writings brought together in a Canon should be considered as *norm* was to say that they should be considered as *sufficient*. The teaching-office of the Church was not abdicated by this final act of fixing the Canon, but its future activity was made to depend on a norm that was superior.

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[1] This point is strongly underlined by H. Diem, *Das Problem des Schrift-Kanons* (*Theol. Studien*), 1951.

By fixing a Canon the Church of the second century did not only take up a position with regard to the difficulties that arose at that particular time, especially with regard to Gnosticism. *She took a decision that committed the whole future of the Church.* She did not fix a norm for others; she fixed a norm *for herself*, and she committed the Church for all future centuries to this norm. In doing this she did not deprive the Church of her teaching-office. But she gave to this teaching-office its exact character: it will be truly the teaching-office of the Church in so far as its starting-point is the act of submission to the ecclesiastical norm of the Canon. Its efficacity derives from this submission. The Holy Spirit will be at work in this very submission. *Within this framework* the Revelation will continue to be granted to the Church.

Is it legitimate to attribute such a primordial importance in the history of salvation to this act of fixing the Canon? Does this not mean attributing an exceptional dignity to the Church of the second century which conceived this idea of a Canon? We must recognise that this was in fact a decisive moment for the history of the Church. On the one hand, about the year

150 they were still near enough to the period of the Apostles to be able, with the help of the Holy Spirit, to make the selection among the oral and written traditions; on the other hand the shocking multiplication of Gnostic and legendary traditions had made the Church ripe for this *act of humility* which is indicated by the submission of *all* later inspiration to a norm. At no other moment in the period of the Church could the fixing of the Canon have been undertaken. It is at this very moment that God granted to the Church the grace of recognising the difference between the period of the Incarnation and the period of the Church. Only the clear distinction between these two periods enables the Church to preserve the sublime consciousness of having her own place, her own time, in the history of salvation. And she has it precisely in so far as she recognises that the period of Jesus and of the Apostles is the mid-point of all time and gives its significance to every period, including the period of the Church.

But the Canon fixed by the Church of the second century does not contain only the books of the Apostles, but also the Old Testament. We must say, right away, that the Old Testament was admitted only because it was understood that the period of the Incarnation is the mid-point of time, the mid-point in the history of salvation which has its beginning before the Incarnation and is prolonged beyond it. The Old Testament was received into the Canon in the capacity of witness to that part of the history of salvation which prepared for the Incarnation. It is in this way that Jesus and the Apostles understood the history of Israel. Thus the Church was faithful *to the Apostles* themselves in admitting the Old Testament into the *apostolic norm* which is the Canon.

Here an objection must be raised: since the history of the people of God in the Old Testament thus acquires a normative character, why should it not be the same for the people of God in the New Testament; i.e. the Church? Does this not grant a privileged position to the period of preparation for the Incarnation as compared with the period of the unfolding of the Incarnation which is the period of the Church?

The objection is perfectly legitimate.[1] But here again we must consider the fixing of the Canon as an element in the history of salvation itself. To fix this *norm* certainly did not mean, as many Protestants think, that the history of salvation was to be henceforth halted until the moment of the Return of Christ, so that we should have nothing else to do than to mark time. We must even say quite boldly that the people of the New Testament are, on the contrary, in a privileged position as compared with that of the Old, since they already live in the new aeon even although the final fulfilment is still to come.

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[1] It has been formulated in oral discussion with Père Daniélou.

And yet this period of the Church, in spite of all the graces bestowed upon it, especially in the sacraments, in spite of all its privileges, cannot be *norm*, *for it is not completed*, as the preparation for the Incarnation of Christ in the history of the people of Israel was completed by the time of the Apostles. In creating a norm the Church did not desire to be her own norm since she had established precisely the fact that *without a superior written norm her teaching-office could not preserve the pure apostolic tradition*. While remaining conscious of her high mission of representing the Body of Christ on earth in the present period, that is to say the highest mission that exists, she understood that she could not accomplish this mission except by submitting herself to the norm of the apostolic Canon. If the fixing of the Canon had been carried through by the Church with the tacit presupposition that the teaching-office of the Church, that is the *subsequent* traditions, should be set alongside this Canon with an *equal normative authority*, then one could no longer see the reason for her creation of the Canon. If after as well as before its constitution the teaching-office of the Church continued to be a *supreme* norm of equal value, the Church could by herself alone always judge afresh as a last resort as to the conformity of the teaching of her scholars with the apostolic tradition. In this case the fixing of a Canon would have been superfluous. It makes sense only if the Church from that moment exercises her teaching-office in submission to this supreme norm, and always returning afresh to this norm. We could even risk the paradoxical statement that the teaching-office of the Church at least approaches real infallibility in so far as through submission to the Canon it abandons all *claim* to infallibility; that the tradition created by the Church assumes a real value for the understanding of the divine

Revelation in so far as it does not claim to be an indispensable screen by placing itself between the Bible and the reader.

There is however the rule of faith. But is it not important that the idea of giving it a normative authority was conceived *at the same time* as that of giving a normative authority to the Canon, that is to say about the middle of the second century? By misunderstanding the significance of certain declarations of the Fathers of the second century we have the habit of opposing (too much) rule of faith and Canon, as if the former constituted the continuous tradition of the Church, alongside of the writings of the Apostles. In fact, the definitive fixing of the *apostolic rule of faith corresponded exactly to the same need* of codifying the apostolic tradition as did the canonisation of the apostolic *writings*. We do not have on the one hand the Apostles' Creed, and on the other hand their writings. The two form henceforth one block of apostolic tradition over against the post-apostolic tradition. The *apostolic* rule of faith is the very tradition of which the Fathers of the second century speak. What is important is not that it was first of all transmitted by oral methods, but the conviction that its text has been *fixed*—just as was that of the canonical books of the New Testament—by the Apostles. According to the conviction of the Church of the second century it is not a question of a secret or implicit tradition, but of a text already *fixed* in the period of the Apostles, as were their writings.

This Credo was a kind of apostolic résumé of the books of the New Testament—as it were a rule of apostolic interpretation of all the very different books. The multiplicity of apostolic writings made necessary a short résumé of the truths that are common to them for the different needs of the Church.[1] In order to be the norm of interpretation this Credo itself must be *apostolic*. Of course there were still fluctuations, on the subject of the precise and definitive text, but in the main lines the different affirmations were already contained in the symbols of the middle of the second century, and, above all, the principle of the norm of an apostolic rule of faith was admitted at that point. The attribution of each phrase to one of the twelve Apostles is a legend. But what is true is that the basis of the developed symbols is formed by the oldest of the shorter formulae whose text was fixed in the *apostolic* age, traces of which we have found in the New Testament.

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[1] See O. Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, Lutterworth Press, 1949.

The role of *future* Credos of the Church as they were elaborated by the councils is quite different. Certainly they are also necessary in the sense that they are designed to define a position over against the problems of their period, the heresies of the day. They are necessary, and at every period the Church ought to elaborate a Credo. But never can these subsequent confessions assume the value of a symbol attributed to the Apostles: never can they become norms for all time. Here again we must repeat what we have said about the post-apostolic traditions of the Church. They have a very great importance in that they can guide our understanding of the apostolic Revelation, but they are not, as the *Apostles'* Creed seems to be, a kind of last page to be added to the New Testament.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the difference we have established between apostolic tradition and post-apostolic tradition is not arbitrary, but that it is *the difference which the Church, at the decisive moment, in the second century, herself made by formulating the principle of an apostolic Canon and an apostolic résumé.*

We could find an intrinsic confirmation of all that precedes in the evolution of patristics. For a long time it has been noted that, apart from the letters of Ignatius, the writings of the *so-called* apostolic Fathers (which in reality do not precisely belong any longer to the apostolic age but to the beginning of the second century)—the First Epistle of Clement, the Homily assigned to Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Polycarp—in spite of the theological interest they possess, are at a considerable distance from the thought of the New Testament, and in a large measure fall back into a moralism which ignores the notion of grace, the redemptive death of Christ, which is so central for the apostolic theology. It has also been noted that the Fathers of the Church who wrote *after* 150—Irenaeus, Tertullian—although chronologically more remote from the New Testament than the authors of the first half of the century, understood infinitely better the essence of the Gospel. This fact appears paradoxical but it is perfectly explainable by this most important action of codification of the apostolic tradition in a Canon, hence-forward the superior norm of all tradition. The Fathers of the first half of the century wrote at a period when the writings of the New Testament already existed, but without being vested with canonical authority; that is to say, without being set apart. Therefore they did not have at their disposal a norm, and on the other hand they were too far distant already from the period of the Apostles to be able to draw directly on the eye-witness source. The encounters of Polycarp and Papias with apostolic personages could no longer guarantee a pure transmission of authentic traditions: the fragments that have been preserved of their literary work are proof.

On the other hand, after (*c.* 150) contact with the apostolic age had been re-established thanks to the constitution of the Canon, this process of elimination of all impure elements, sources of deformation began. Thus it is confirmed that by submitting all subsequent tradition to the Canon, the Church once and for all saved its apostolic basis. She permitted her members to hear, thanks to this Canon, continually afresh and for all the centuries to come the authentic word of the Apostles, a privilege which no oral tradition, passing through Polycarp or Papias, could any longer have assured them.

We have said that the Scriptures need to be interpreted. The Church ought to feel herself responsible for this interpretation. She ought to declare herself, when that is necessary, over against certain Biblical explanations proposed by her teachers or independent scholars of her time. But her responsibility in this case consists, as we have seen, precisely in pronouncing judgment in humble submission to the apostolic norm of the Canon. This implies two things: (1) that she does not impose on future generations the obligation to take as a starting-point and as a norm of their interpretation of the same text the decision that she believes it necessary to take, but that she remains conscious of the superiority of Scripture, the immediate witness of the divine Revelation, to the interpretation which she herself feels compelled to give, and which cannot be other than a derived witness in which the human element has a greater share; (2) that she herself takes her decision by confronting the Biblical text itself, trusting in the internal witness of the Holy Spirit, and having recourse to the tradition only as a secondary source, a guide which can give us light precisely on condition that we do not set it above the word of the apostles, and that we are ready, when necessary, to break loose from it.

Do we not continually experience afresh a kind of liberation when, after having read a quantity of commentaries, however good they may have been, we read the Biblical Word itself, forcing ourselves to forget the very things we have read in the commentaries, with the healthy *naïveté* of the catechumen seeking to hear the Apostles speak of what they have seen and heard? Certainly the Bible needs to be interpreted. For their authors were men of their time and therefore it contains inevitable imperfections, inherent in any human word which is seeking to translate the divine Word. But is it not to lack faith when we base ourselves on the human character of the revelation transmitted by the Apostles in order to claim that we are no longer capable of hearing their witness without passing through a long chain of intermediaries in which the human element incidentally plays a greater part because these are not eye-witnesses like the Apostles? Certainly we ought to undertake the reading of the Biblical Word with the philological knowledge that we have acquired, and we ought to give certain directives to the common man who does not have them at his disposal. But in order that the exegete, like the common man, should become capable of hearing, in this twentieth century, the very voice of the Apostles, he must be certain (and communicate this certainty to others) that the eye-witnesses, while expressing themselves in the language of their time, are still able to speak to us in a *direct* manner, precisely when we are ready to confront their word with this faith in the Holy Spirit who is able to dispense with intermediaries.

Is the gulf which separates Catholic doctrine and Protestant doctrine on this point unbridgable? Perhaps in what concerns the theory. In practice the two attitudes have come curiously near to one another. We have said that Protestants have always recognised a tradition as guide—the decisions of the first councils and the writings of the Reformers. But for some time now the interest of Protestant theology has been turning, more than in the past, also to the study of patristics. Thus we are beginning to understand on the Protestant side what an immense treasure there is in the work of the Fathers of the

Church, and we have begun to break away from that strange conception of Church history and Christian thought which supposed that between the second and the sixteenth centuries there was, with the exception of certain sects, a complete eclipse of the Gospel.

Vice versa, we are seeing today a Catholic interest in the reading and study of the Bible such as perhaps no preceding period has known. The work of Père Lagrange, to name only one; the encyclical *Divino afflante spiritu*; the extraordinary energy of the Biblical Institute at Rome and the Biblical School of the Dominicans in Jerusalem; the publication of the excellent edition of the *Sainte Bible*, known as the Jerusalem Bible; do these not prove that the most valuable Catholic contributions to the understanding of the Bible are due, in spite of the theory of tradition, to a *direct*, *immediate* contact with the Biblical text, even in its original language? And the 'Catholic variations' in the appreciation of certain exegetical problems—I am thinking for instance of the famous 'Johannine colon'—are these revisions of previous judgments not a proof that on many occasions the Catholic Church has known how to set Scripture above her tradition?

In mentioning these *rapprochements* that can be noted on the practical level, we are not trying to minimise the great divergence of doctrine which nevertheless exists. But we think that they ought to incite us to discuss the old theoretical problem of 'Scripture and Tradition' without any polemical intention, with an absolute frankness and sincerity which can only profit from the dialogue of Christian confessions.

NEW TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY[1]

by The Rev. C. K. BARRETT

I. Jewish and Pauline Eschatology

I

In the terminology of classical Christian theology the word eschatology means 'the doctrine of the last things'. A discussion of NT eschatology would, under such a definition, treat of the hope of life after physical death, personal immortality, the general resurrection, the last judgment, heaven and hell. This use of the word remains of course in current usage; but in modern biblical discussion 'eschatology' is commonly employed in a somewhat different way, which may be defined by the statement that in characteristically eschatological thinking the significance of a series of events in time is defined in terms of the last of their number. The last event is not merely one member of the series; it is the determinative member, which reveals the meaning of the whole. Such thinking inevitably assumes the reality of historical processes, and that they are meaningful; in this, of course, it is fully consistent with Biblical thought as a whole; indeed, it might be said that the Biblical view of history derives its characteristic pattern from the fact that the Bible is a predominantly eschatological book. This is not to say either that the whole of the Bible is written from an eschatological standpoint, or that eschatological writing is not to be found outside the Bible; but the Bible is undoubtedly the classical field of eschatology, dominated as it is by the belief that the Judge of all the earth will do right, but that the right which He does will not necessarily be seen to be right until it is brought to a full end.

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[1] This article, unduly long as it is, is nevertheless much too short to permit a full consideration of even the most essential and controversial points. Some of these are indicated in the notes, and I hope to find opportunities of discussing them in detail elsewhere. Unfortunately it is not possible even to cite the literature as fully as could be desired, especially on non-Christian eschatology (there is eschatology outside the field of Judaism and Christianity, though it is not dealt with here). Reference should be made to the excellent bibliography in H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic* (London, 1944). Several books published since 1944 are referred to in this article.

It is clear that any chain of events that can be thought of as closed may be regarded eschatologically; it makes no difference whether or not some or all of the events have actually taken place, provided that the last event, whether past or future, is regarded as decisive. The simplest kind of illustration occurs when all the events lie in the past. For example, it need not be questioned that Deut. 28 was written after the sack of Jerusalem and the exile of the Jews in 586 B.C. This (for the time being) final event of their history is conceived as setting a seal upon the whole process. The chapter is (as a matter of literary form) put into the mouth of Moses as a conditional prediction of the future of his people: in vv. 1-14 are set forth the blessings which will be conferred upon the people 'if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments which I command thee this day', and in vv. 15-68 the punishments which will follow 'if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God'. But the concrete detail in which the punishments are described, in comparison with the abstract vagueness and brevity of the blessings, shows significantly enough that the final term of the series had been reached, and that the Deuteronomist was in no doubt what judgment had been passed upon the history of his people. Their fate had, against the vociferous self-righteousness of popular religion, proved their disobedience.

The principles of eschatological thinking appear with special clarity and force when the whole process under consideration is past history; but they are also to be discerned in the genuinely predictive work of the prophets. Sometimes the prophet is already quite certain what the last event will be; Amos for example knows well that the day of the Lord will prove to be darkness and not light (5.18), and when it comes it will therefore justify the denunciation which Amos has already uttered: 'the end is come upon my people Israel' (8.2). Sometimes again the prophet conceives alternative 'ends', contingent upon the response to his message; Isaiah for example declares, 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword' (1.19f). The end, which clearly involves the process of judgment, will reveal what the attitude of Israel has really been.

Out of this prophetic eschatology developed what may be called apocalyptic eschatology.[1] It is characteristic of prophetic eschatology that the significant last term in the series is continuous with the series itself and identical in kind with the preceding events. Like them it is a historical event, such as the downfall of Jerusalem, or the rise of Cyrus. True, it is an event ordained and used by God for His own purposes, but visibly it is no more supernatural than any of the circumstances which led up to it. When it has happened a new series can begin on the same lines as the old. In apocalyptic eschatology the last term is different from and discontinuous with the bulk of the series which it concludes; it is not merely the end of the old but the beginning of a new series which belongs to a different order of existence. It marks God's breaking into the historical sequence in fresh, unrepeatable, supernatural terms. We see no longer a crisis in military and political history, but the sun turned into darkness and the moon into blood; not merely the end of a series but the end of all history, an event which stands on the boundary between this world and another world, and therefore cannot be deduced from a study of what precedes it.[2] Warnings and promises like those of the prophets continue to be formulated as future contingencies, but their fulfilment is deferred to another age and another world, neither of which is known to ordinary human experience.

'Αποκάλυψις means the unveiling of secrets; and apocalypse means the unveiling of secrets about this 'other' age, this 'other' world. It follows that apocalyptic is always mysterious; it treats of that which unaided man can never learn and God Himself chooses to reveal only to the elect. Vision, allegory and esoteric symbolism are the forms that the apocalyptists love to employ, and they are congruous not only with their taste but also with their subject matter. The secrets in which apocalyptic deals are not simply secrets of the future—of the Age to Come; they include secrets of the present state of the heavenly world. Indeed these two mysteries, of heaven and the future, are very closely allied, since in apocalyptic the significant future is the breaking into this world of the heavenly

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[1] The difference between prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology must not be exaggerated. The two forms of eschatological thought often appear side by side in the same work. The distinction however is valid and useful.

[2] 'Speaking generally, the prophets foretold the future that should arise out of the present, while the apocalyptists foretold the future that should break into the present' (H. H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 34).

world, and to know what now is in heaven is in consequence almost the same as knowing what will be on earth.[1]

The primary factor in the growth of apocalyptic out of the older prophetic eschatology was the development of more transcendental ideas of God. The prophets themselves in their conviction that the God of Israel governed and used the actions not only of His own people but of other races also made an advance upon earlier theological notions, but the apocalyptists had a cosmic rather than a merely international conception of God and His activity. If He truly was the 'first, and with the last' (Isa. 41.4), and if to be in the beginning meant to be engaged in the creation of heaven and earth, to be at the end meant necessarily to be active in that which lay beyond all such events as the exile and the return, a new creation. History itself had proved that history had not ended in 586 B.C., and it was impossible to be content for ever with partial explanations of mere excerpts from the whole story of the human race. Further, a deeper pessimism about the nature and destiny of man prevailed. It was too much to hope that wrongs should be righted and the just vindicated within the framework of existing institutions. The wicked could be punished and the good rewarded only by the direct, miraculous intervention of God. As secondary consequences of these facts it may be noted that a heightened sense of the transcendence of God opened the way to a richer belief in intermediate spiritual beings, and that pessimism led to the belief that many of these spirits were evil. The world in its present state lay under the dominion of evil powers (ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται, 1 John 5.19); at the appointed hour God would retrieve from their hands the power that rightly belonged to Him. No doubt other factors contributed to the rise of apocalyptic. The fact that some of the predictions of the prophets remained, apparently, unfulfilled may have given rise to the belief that they would be fulfilled not in historical but in supernatural terms. Foreign mythologies[2] seem to have made their presence felt in Judaism and to have affected at least the form, and perhaps also the content, of the apocalypses.[1] It is possible also that the rituals of Judaism gave rise to apocalyptic speculations.[2] But nothing is more important about the apocalyptists than that they were the heirs of the prophets; like their predecessors they spoke to their contemporaries in the name of God,[3] and like them they spoke the language of their age; but it was a different age.

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[1] It is worth noting here that apocalyptic in its own nature involves two kinds of (limited) dualism. The contrast between this world and the 'other' heavenly world of supra-sensual reality is often loosely described as 'Platonic' and supposed to be quite foreign to Judaism; but this is not so. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between apocalyptic and gnosticism—a fact with large consequences.

[2] S. B. Frost (*Old Testament Apocalyptic*, London, 1952), pp. 32-45, cf. p. 247 f) rightly insists that myth is not the *origin* of eschatology, but that 'apocalyptic is to be recognised as mythologised eschatology' (op. cit., p. 39).

Unlike the prophets, who dealt each of them in concrete terms with a particular historical situation, the apocalyptic writers evolved a common framework of fundamental conceptions within which, broadly speaking, they all worked. Their descriptions of the final event were not, as we have seen, directly related to the historical process itself, and consequently could be more or less standardised.[4] The basic principle upon which their thought rests is that of the Two Ages, the present Age in which the powers of wickedness are in revolt against God and cause trouble and grief, especially for the elect, and the Age to Come, in which God will assert His authority, judge and punish the wicked and reign over His saints in bliss. This formula is most common in the rabbinic writings, where העולם הזה (This Age) and העולם הבא (the Age to Come) are regularly used,[5] and often contrasted.[6] It is of the utmost importance so to live in This Age as to inherit (חלק,

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[1] The only example that can be given in this article is that of the title 'Son of man'; in a following article this will be briefly discussed.

[2] For example, about the kingdom (kingship) of God, or the Messiah. See S. B. Frost, op. cit., pp. 39 f, 57-67, and the references there given.

[3] 'Both prophets and apocalyptists were men who spoke to their own generation, and who spoke because they felt a divine urge within them. The form and content of their message varied from age to age, according to the circumstances and conditions of their day. But it was ever the conscious delivery to men of what was believed to be God's word to them' (H. H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 14).

[4] It must be remembered that within this broad standardisation the variety in detail was immense, so that it is quite impossible to speak of one Jewish 'messianic hope'. There were as many different 'messianic hopes' as there were messianic, or apocalyptic, writers.

[5] Specific action was taken against those who denied that there were two ages; cf. Berakoth 9.5: At the close of every Benediction in the Temple they used to say, 'From everlasting' (מן העולם); but after the heretics (Sadducees) had taught corruptly and said that there is but one world (עולם), it was ordained that they should say, 'From everlasting to everlasting' (מן העולם ועד העולם).

[6] For example, Pesahim 50*a*, Not as This Age will be the Age to Come (לא העולם הזה העולם הבא).

get a share in; e.g. Sanhedrin 10) the Age to Come. The Hebrew word עולם is ambiguous; it means both 'world' (in a spatial sense) and 'age' (division of time). This ambiguity appears in sayings such as Aboth 4.16,[1] and it reflects the same double dualism (now—then, here—there) that we have already noted as characteristic of apocalyptic.[2] Among the apocalyptic books only 4 Ezra uses frequently the expression 'the Age to Come' (e.g. 7.47 *ad paucos pertinebit futurum saeculum iocunditatem facere, multis autem tormenta*), but the absence of the formula is not important since the general notion of a distinction between two ages remains fundamental. There is a particularly clear example of this general notion in 4 Ezra 6.7 (*quae erit separatio temporum? aut quando prioris finis aut sequentis initium?*). Cf. among many other passages 2 Baruch 83.4 f (Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us shall come. And let us not now look unto the delights of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end.)

Another way of expressing the coming of the Age to Come is to say that God will bring His kingdom (e.g. Assumption of Moses 10.1: And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan shall be no more). It is assumed that at present the world is under the dominion of Satan and his subordinates; at this time God's rule though real is partial and secret[3] since it is exercised only in the minds and consciences of faithful Israelites, who, as often as not, are persecuted for their obedience to God's rule. But in the future God will exercise His kingly rule; His kingdom (מלכות, *βασιλεία*; *reign*, not *realm*) will 'come'. See for example Sibylline Oracles III 767 ff (Then indeed He will raise up His kingdom for all ages over men, He who once gave a holy law to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, and everlasting sense and eternal gladness). In a hope of this kind all the apocalypses agree; but it is almost true to say that as soon as they begin to furnish it with details they all differ. What, for example, will be the fate of the Gentiles in this kingdom of the New Age? According to some they will be destroyed, according to others they will join the Jews in the worship of God.

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[1] R. Jacob (probably in the latter half of the second century A.D.) said: 'This world (העולם הזה) is like a vestibule before the world to come (העולם הבא): prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter into the banqueting hall.'

[2] Further difficulty arises from the fact that it is not always clear whether העולם הבא refers to the temporary messianic kingdom in this world or to a future beyond all earthly history.

[3] H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, i (Munich, 1922), p. 178.

The figure of the Messiah also is one upon which the extant apocalyptic literature casts a doubtful light. In some books he occupies a prominent and necessary place; in others (e.g. the Assumption of Moses) he does not appear at all—God Himself acts directly, without the interposition of any mediator, to establish His kingdom. Here and there appears a comparable but distinguishable figure, the Son of man (in Daniel and 1 Enoch; cf. the 'Man' in 4 Ezra), around whom a great deal of critical controversy has raged. Here it can only be said that this strange figure appears to spring from widespread oriental mythology and speculation about a Primal, or Heavenly, Man (sometimes connected with the first man, Adam). The mythology was worked into a new setting in Jewish apocalyptic, but did not fail to leave traces of its earlier state. Another feature common to several apocalypses is the belief that the time of bliss in the Age to Come would be ushered in by a period of unparalleled catastrophe and woe. This 'messianic affliction' was called by the Rabbis חבלי המשיח, the travail-pains of the Messiah. It was not merely a conviction that things would have to get worse before they got better; the affliction was a real (though negative) part of the future hope.

It will appear that NT eschatology closely resembles that of the OT prophets and that of the apocalyptic books; a good deal, especially of what might be called stage machinery, was taken over ready made, as it were, from Jewish sources. But the contrasts between the NT and non-Christian Jewish literature are even more revealing of the true character of NT thought than the resemblances, and it is chiefly for this reason that Jewish eschatology, with its earnest hopeful looking towards the Age to Come as containing the solution of the problems and contradictions of the present, has here been briefly set forth.

II

The earliest NT writings are the epistles of Paul; of these the earliest are probably the two to the Thessalonians.[1] From these two letters, and to a smaller extent from others, the broad outlines and not a few of the details of Jewish apocalyptic may be recovered. Evidently this was a field in which Paul could move with ease. The fundamental attitude of Christians, he says, is one of expectant waiting (*ἀναμένειν*, 1 Thess. 1.10). The future to which they look includes judgment (. . . *ἵνα κριθῶσιν πάντες* . . . , 2 Thess. 2.12), wrath (*ἡ ὀργὴ ἡ ἐρχομένη*, 1 Thess. 1.10, 5.9) and salvation (*ἔθετο ἡμᾶς* . . . *εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας*, 1 Thess. 5.9). In the final events the protagonist will be Jesus the Messiah, who will gather together and preserve His elect (1 Thess. 1.10, 4.16; 2 Thess. 2.8). Before His coming (*παρουσία*, 1 Thess. 2.19, 3.13, 4.15, 5.23; 2 Thess. 2.1-8) wickedness and calamity will multiply under the direction of a personal evil power, who will be destroyed by the Lord Himself (2 Thess. 2.3 f, 8-10). The end is near at hand (1 Thess. 4.15; Paul evidently thinks that *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι* will be the majority of Christians, including himself; the few *κοιμώμενοι* are exceptions, a special case, who, it is necessary to point out, will lose none of their privileges), but it has not yet come (2 Thess. 2.2; the Thessalonians must not be deceived into thinking that *ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου*). When it does come, Christians will be *πάντοτε σὺν κυρίῳ* (1 Thess. 4.17). A similar outline of future events may be drawn from the apocalypse in 1 Cor. 15.23-28, 51-57. Here too Paul looks forward to the triumphant reign of Christ, when all His enemies, including death, will be destroyed. This reign begins with the general resurrection which cannot be far distant, since *πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα* (1 Cor. 15.51; a change in emphasis appears here in comparison with 1 Thess. 4.15; it is now the survivors who are treated as exceptional).[2] In the end,[3] Christ will be subordinated to God the Father, and God will be *πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν* (1 Cor. 15.28). These detailed predictions may be reinforced by many passages scattered throughout the epistles. So certain and so near is the eschatological future that it should already govern men's social relationships (1 Cor. 7.26, 29, *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην . . . ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν*). The future includes judgment (Rom. 2.16; 1 Cor. 6.10[1]; 2 Cor. 5.10; Gal. 6.7), a signal display of the mercy of God (Rom. 11.32), leading speedily to salvation (Rom. 13.11 f) and a transformed life in a new world (Rom. 8.18, 23; 1 Cor. 13.10, 12; 2 Cor. 5.1-4; Phil. 3.21; Col. 3.4). All this will be effected by the imminent coming of Christ (1 Cor. 11.26, 16.22; Phil. 4.5[2]).

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[1] Many scholars consider Galatians to be the earliest epistle, for reasons which do not seem to me satisfactory. The matter is not relevant to the present subject and cannot be discussed here. See H. Lietzmann, *An die Galater* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 10), 3rd edition (Tübingen, 1932).

[2] It has been maintained (notably by C. H. Dodd, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xviii (Manchester, 1934), pp. 93-101) that there is a real development in Paul's eschatological thought; in the later epistles he gave up his belief in an imminent parousia, and 1 Cor. 15 marks an intermediate stage. On the whole, it seems more probable that Paul took note of the deaths which had taken place

It is not difficult thus to select frankly eschatological material from Paul, and to reconstruct from it a Christian apocalyptic. Paul's controversies scarcely touch this field, and it is probable that in his day many Christians held views similar to those which have just been quoted from him. The material cited could be multiplied, but taken by itself it can give only a one-sided and perverted picture of Paul's thought. His epistles are almost as different from the apocalypses in content as they are in form. The sense of expectancy with which Paul looked for a future consummation is combined in his epistles with an intense spiritual life lived in the present, and with a concentrated attention focused upon events in the past—the life, death and resurrection of Jesus regarded as the fulfilment of prophecy and the completion of the OT. Of this backward look directed upon the history of Jesus more will be said later (see pp. 148, 150 f). The present life of Christians is a life in Christ, newly related to God, inspired by the Holy Spirit and set within the framework of the Church. It is described in terms which bear often a superficial, and sometimes a more than

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and perhaps also came to believe that his own death would happen earlier than at first seemed to him likely, than that he radically altered his opinion about the time of the parousia.

[3] Here a clear distinction is drawn between the messianic age and the ultimate future. See p. 140, n. 6.

[1] The use of *κληρονομεῖν* recalls the rabbinic חלק; see above, p. 140.

[2] C. H. Dodd (*B.J.R.L.*, xviii, p. 96) takes this verse to mean that the Lord is near those who call upon Him (cf. Ps. 145 (144).18), rather than that He is about to come from heaven. His interpretation seems, however, somewhat forced.

superficial,[1] resemblance to the language of piety and mysticism current in Judaism and in Hellenistic religion, and might well seem to be irreconcilable with the eschatological outlook which Paul elsewhere entertains; but in fact this is not so. It is also, and most characteristically, described as an anticipation of eschatological events and conditions.

This is perhaps most plainly true of the terms Paul uses to describe the work of the Holy Spirit. That a unique outpouring of the Spirit was expected in the messianic age is well known,[2] and the mere fact that Paul believed that Christians had received the Spirit shows that he conceived their life as an eschatological phenomenon; but he makes his meaning more explicit by speaking of the Holy Spirit as an ἀρραβών (*earnest, pledge*) and ἀπαρχή (*first-fruit*). In 2 Cor. 5.5 (cf. 1.22) Paul looks forward to the consummation in which what is mortal shall be swallowed up by life; to this end (clearly a hoped for future) God has prepared us, and, in anticipation of it, given us the ἀρραβών of the Spirit. In Rom. 8.21f he describes the groaning of creation as it longs for the future day of liberation, and adds that Christians also share this longing even though they already have the ἀπαρχή of the Spirit. Christians, then, so far as they live in and by the Spirit, are partially anticipating the blessed life for which they still look, and hope the more earnestly because they have already tasted its bliss. The new relation with God, in virtue of which (Gal. 4.6) Christians receive the Holy Spirit, is also an eschatological relation. To describe it Paul uses two basic sets of metaphors, one derived from the law court, the other from quarrelling and war. Justification (δικαιοῦν, etc.) relates to the status of a man before his judge; if he is δίκαιος,[3] and only so, he may be discharged free and unpunished. To Paul as a Jew, man's judge was God, and the judgment was that of the last day. That there would be such a judgment he continued (as we have seen) to believe, but its verdict had been anticipated in the justifying (that is, in effect, the acquitting) of the ungodly by the gracious God. The last judgment was the final event in history, and it would disclose the true character of men and the meaning of their existence; but this disclosure was already in part made in the Gospel. Similarly the peace (*εἰρήνη*) which is the result of God's act of reconciliation[1] was in current Jewish expectation an eschatological goal[2]; for Paul also it remained a future hope since enemies of Christ (of whom the last was death) waited to be destroyed; yet peace was already won and given to believers (Rom. 5.1).[3] Not all Paul's religious language is used in this way. Salvation, for example, remains in general a future goal for which men hope. The verb *σώζειν* is used most often (Rom. 5.9 f, 9.27, 10.9, 13, 11.14, 26; and similarly in the other epistles) in future tenses and contingent subjunctives; the usage of the noun *σωτηρία* is not so clear because it is often (e.g. Rom. 1.16, 10.10) impossible to determine whether it refers to the present or the future, but when the reference is unambiguous (as at Rom. 13.11) it is to the future.

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[1] See especially W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (Cambridge, 1939).

[2] I have given some of the evidence in *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition* (London, 1947), p. 120; see also W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, ii (Berlin, 1948), pp. 25-27 (*Der Geist Gottes als die Kraft der Vollendung im neuen Aeon*), and W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1948), pp. 203 ff, 215 f.

[3] This adjective describes a relationship, not an ethical quality (see especially R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen, 1948), pp. 268-70); if this is not grasped it is impossible to make sense of Paul's doctrine of justification.

Justified, reconciled men, living by the Holy Spirit, compose the Church, which is the body of Christ. There is an evident connexion between the Church of the NT and the Israel of the OT, but it is not a simple continuity. The new society was recruited from Gentiles as well as Jews, and the faith which bound together the several members was sealed by a new cultic act supplanting circumcision. They were God's predestined elect (e.g. Rom. 8.26-30, 9.23 f), collected by the preaching of the Gospel (e.g. 1 Cor. 1.18-25). The community of saints, which for Paul was a visible reality, appears in the apocalypses as an eschatological phenomenon.[4]

In short, Paul, like most other Jews of his day, conceived of salvation in eschatological terms, but for him the eschatological process had already begun. The last term which was to define the meaning of the whole series had been expanded into a complex whole including both the death and exaltation of Jesus, historical events which were fundamental to Paul precisely because he looked on them as not merely events within history but as eschatological events due to God's breaking into the world in love and judgment, and also His return in glory for final judgment and to inaugurate His reign. Within this expanded term the Church lived, or, as Paul put it, upon the Christians 'the ends of the ages had met' (1 Cor. 10.11); This Age was in process of being supplanted by the Age to Come, and, for a short time (as was supposed), the Two Ages, present and future, existed side by side. Paul's theology, and in particular his doctrine of salvation, is a development of this fundamental but paradoxical conviction; and many of the difficulties and paradoxes in his theology are due to its origin.

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[1] *καταλλάσσειν*, with its cognates and compounds. The notion of reconciliation—the rectification of man's relationship with God—is closely parallel to that of justification; cf. especially Rom. 5.9 f.

[2] e.g. Isa. 9.6; Ezek. 34.25; Hag. 2.9; Ps. 29 (28).11; 4 Ezra 13.47; 1 Enoch 58.4; T. Levi 18.4; 2 Bar. 73.1.

[3] *εἰρήνην ἔχομεν*, or *ἔχωμεν*. It makes little difference which reading is accepted. If the subjunctive is read it must be translated, in accordance with Paul's thought, 'Let us enjoy (the) peace (we already in truth possess)'.

[4] Dan. 7.27; 1 Enoch 62.7 f, 14 f. See A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (E. T., London, 1931), pp. 101-5.

Rom. 1-3 is a *locus classicus* of Pauline theology, and a passage which reveals very clearly the fundamental pattern of his thought (and incidentally presents several of its characteristic obscurities). After the opening salutations, which themselves are theologically significant, Paul defines the content of the Gospel (1.17): δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται. It will be remembered (see pp. 138 ff) that in the Bible righteousness is an essentially eschatological concept; and the use of the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν is striking. In the next verse Paul proceeds: ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ. It is important here to note the particle, which is conjunctive, not disjunctive. The manifestation of ὀργή (which also is commonly an eschatological word; cf. e.g. Rom. 2.5; ἡμέρα ὀργῆς) is cognate with the saving manifestation of righteousness, and both belong to the present. The wrath of God is revealed in the progressive licentiousness and abandonment of the heathen world. The word παρέδωκεν (1.24, 26, 28) is judicial (cf. 2.2, κρῖμα). Men in general are not aware of the meaning of the process in which they are involved but in fact they are anticipating for themselves the effects of the last judgment. The reward of godlessness is godlessness. This is manifestly true of the Gentile, but it is no less true of the Jew, conscious though he is of superiority to the Gentile world, and in fact innocent of its immoral excesses. The Jew is instructed out of and confident in the

Law (2.17-20), but he is convicted by the sign of circumcision which he bears in his own person (for this sign in one member is a visible token of God's claim to authority over the whole man), and in particular by his own Scriptures (3.1-18). He boasts in the OT but has not read it with sufficient discernment and obedience of spirit to see that it is now being fulfilled. The manifestation of God's righteousness and power which his ancestors had foretold is now in operation, and, so far as it meets not with faith but with conscience, law and sin, its effect is wrath,[1] a process in which men plunge deeper and deeper into the course of self-centred action they have adopted until there can be no question what verdict will be passed on them at the last day (2.5 f). After summarising what has been said about the wrathful demonstration of God's righteousness (3.19 f), Paul turns next to the revelation of God's saving righteousness. Here a different word is used, in a different tense (πεφανέρωται, 3.21). Justification goes back to and springs out of the death of Jesus on the cross more directly than the process of judgment; the death of Jesus was a demonstration (ἔνδειξις) of the righteousness of God *in the present age* (ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, 3.26), that is, it was an essentially eschatological event brought forward into the period before the Age to Come.

These chapters (Rom. 1-3) deal from first to last with God's eschatological, redemptive activity, and say little about the mode of man's incorporation into it, except that it is by faith that man is justified and by his idolatry (the opposite of faith; 1.23, 2.24) that he is condemned; but throughout the Pauline epistles we meet the phrase which gives the clue to the paradoxical situation in which the Church stands. This is the formula ἐν Χριστῷ (cf. ἐν Κυρίῳ, etc.). About its meaning many different views have been held, and it is not possible here, and would perhaps not be profitable, to discuss at length the local, realist and mystical interpretations of the preposition ἐν[2]; the fact that Paul was able to move so readily from *ἡμεῖς ἐν Χριστῷ* to *Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν* suggests that though he wished to emphasise as strongly as possible the union of believers with Christ, he did not himself conceive very clearly the mechanism (if the word may be used) of that union. The union was in itself an eschatological fact. To be 'in Christ' meant primarily to share in experiences of Christ which were eschatologically interpreted—to die with Him, to rise with Him, and so to enter into the eschatological community which could be called His body. Sacramentally and by faith the believer passed through the events which stood on the boundary line between This Age and the Age to Come, and accordingly his existence is sometimes, as we have seen, paradoxically described as partaking of both present and future; but in view of the fact, stated above (p. 140), that the apocalyptic contrast of This Age and the Age to Come implies also the contrast of this world and the 'other' world, the door is opened at once in Paul's theology to the unique Christian paradox of otherworldliness; the Christian is both *ἐν Χριστῷ* and *ἐν σαρκί*, and the life he lives in the flesh he lives by the faith of the Son of God (Gal. 2.20).

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[1] In Rom. 9-11 Paul works out the position of Israel in what are fundamentally eschatological terms. Instead of accepting righteousness by faith, that is, as a gracious gift given by God on His terms and in His own time, Israel had sought to achieve it by its own works (Rom. 9.31 f), thus attempting to lay constraint upon God. This was why when the last days came Israel rejected the offer of righteousness. Paul hoped however that the Gentiles' faith would provoke Israel to abandon works for faith.

[2] See (among many books and articles) A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'* (Marburg, 1892); J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity* (E. T., London, 1937), pp. 463-71; H. A. A. Kennedy, *The Theology of the Epistles*

The consequences of these statements are to be found in the whole field of Pauline theology and cannot be explored in this article. One example may be briefly given. Paul's treatment of the Jewish law[1] rests upon an eschatological basis. There are two ways in which this statement can be examined and, it may be, substantiated. One is to examine Jewish beliefs about the Law in the Messianic Age and the Age to Come,[2] and to consider whether Paul's treatment is based upon this eschatological hope. This method is beset with great difficulties, notably that of determining clearly and unambiguously what the Jewish hopes in question were. The other must begin with the observation that the religion of the Law, the religion of Judaism as Paul represents and criticises it, is an uneschatological religion, and that it is precisely on that ground that Paul attacks it. The error of the Jew is that he regards his own

(London, 1934), pp. 119-25; A. Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, pp. 122-5, and many other passages; W. D. Davies, op. cit., pp. 86-110.

[1] See for example Rom. 2.12-3.4, 7.1-25; 2 Cor. 3.4-18; Gal. 3.1-4.7; Col. 2.13-15.

[2] See W. D. Davies, *Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come* (*Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*, Vol. VII, Philadelphia, 1952).

OT as a closed book, a compendium of theology and morals out of which he receives instruction (Rom. 2.18), and by which God Himself is, as it were, bound, being restricted to His past activity and shut out of the present. All that now remains is the codifying of *mishnayoth* and blind obedience to detailed precepts, an obedience in which Paul allows, or rather claims, that it is possible to be blameless (ἄμεμπτος, Phil. 3.6). Against this he asserts the eschatological doctrine of the futurity of God's action, and reinforces it by the peculiar Christian belief that God's future action has already begun.[1] God is free to act, and is now acting, both in judgment and in mercy. Man is exposed to a moral and religious demand far more radical than that of the Law and offered not a reward for obedience but grace. Further, this radical claim—and the consequently radical exposure of human sinfulness—and this grace were demonstrated and put into operation in the crucifixion of Jesus; it follows that if righteousness does indeed come by the Law, Christ died for naught (Gal. 2.21—a verse which would form the best starting-point for a full discussion of Paul's attitude to the Law).

Paul's thought is eschatological, and his eschatology is closely related to that of his Jewish contemporaries; but the centre of gravity is shifted[2]; the last event has already begun, precipitated by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, who clearly is the central figure in the whole scheme. How far is Paul's view of the significance of Jesus justified by the non-Pauline tradition concerning Him? Here it must be said in summary fashion that it is amply corroborated by the speeches contained in Acts. There Jesus is represented as having waged victorious warfare against the devil; been crucified by wicked men but in accordance with God's design; been raised from the dead by God Himself and exalted to heaven; to have poured out the gift of the Spirit and to be about to return as Judge and Saviour.[3] This material is important, but we shall make no use of it here because in its present form it is certainly post-

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[1] A rigid apocalyptic can itself confine God within the future so that he ceases to be the *living* God; see S. B. Frost, op. cit., pp. 255-7.

[2] The figure is Dr Rawlinson's.

[3] Acts 10.38; 2.23, 3.13-15, 4.10 f, 27, 10.39; 2.24-32, 36, 3.15, 4.10 f, 10.40 f; 2.33; 3.19-21, 10.42. See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (London, 1944), pp. 7-35.

Pauline, and it is at least arguable that the opinions put into the mouth of Peter are dependent on Paul and consequently of no historical value. The main field of inquiry is undoubtedly the first three gospels. Are the roots of the Pauline system of eschatology to be found in the material handed down in the Church's tradition concerning the work of Jesus before His death and resurrection?

During the last fifty years the eschatological teaching ascribed to Jesus has been ceaselessly examined and discussed. Some of the outstanding names[1] in the history of this discussion are J. Weiss,[2] A. Schweitzer,[3] G. Dalman,[4] A. Loisy,[5] E. von Dobschütz,[6] R. Bultmann,[7] H. D. Wendland,[8] E. C. Hoskyns,[9] R. Otto,[10] W. Manson,[11] T. W. Manson,[12] J. Héring,[13] C. H. Dodd,[14] R. H. Lightfoot,[15] C. J. Cadoux,[16] W. G. Kümmel,[17] O. Cullmann,[18] M. Werner,[19] J. L. Leuba.[20] To attempt an adequate account of even that small proportion of the literature which has been hinted at in this list would manifestly be impossible, but fortunately, when regarded in the broadest outline, the accounts which have been given of the eschatological material in the gospels fall into no more than three fairly well defined groups. The first, and in some respects still the greatest, name is that of Dr Schweitzer. When almost every NT scholar (J. Weiss was a notable exception) either ignored the eschatological element in the gospels or explained it away as an accommodation to the language and thought of first century Judaism which did not touch the central truths of the gospels, Dr Schweitzer vindicated for eschatology not merely a place but the determinative place in the teaching and activity of Jesus. Eschatology was the guiding principle of His message, and of His mission too. At the beginning of His ministry He announced the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God, and sent out to share in His proclamation the twelve men whom He had called. They were to travel light and quickly, and to confine their message to Jews, but even so they would not have completed the cities of Israel when the End came (Matt. 10.23). He sent them out, not expecting to see them again in This Age; but they returned, and neither the affliction of which He had warned them, nor the final bliss, had dawned. In retirement and solitude He re-thought the position, and reached a double conclusion. The messianic affliction (see above, p. 142) was not to be general—He would bear it all Himself, that others might go free (Mark 10.45); and this voluntary submission to suffering and death according to the will of God would prove to be the means by which alone Israel could be moved to the nation-wide repentance and obedience for which God looked before His final act. He Himself was not yet the Messiah, but was the *Messias designatus*, the man who in the Age to Come would be exalted to the messiahship. With these thoughts in His mind Jesus set out for Jerusalem with the deliberate intention of forcing the issue and encompassing His own death. 'There is silence all around. The Baptist appears, and cries: "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Soon after that comes Jesus, and in the knowledge that He is the coming Son of man lays hold of the wheel of the world to set it moving on that last revolution which is to bring all ordinary history to a close. It refuses to turn, and He throws himself upon it. Then it does turn; and crushes Him. Instead of bringing in the eschatological conditions, He has destroyed them' (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 368 f). Thus, according to Dr Schweitzer, the thought and activity of Jesus were alike radically eschatological, determined by the prospect of an imminent coming of the kingdom of God which would be heralded by the woes of the elect. It was to secure the coming of the Age to Come that Jesus died. It follows that Jesus was mistaken, since He died and the kingdom did not come. Dr Schweitzer rightly called his interpretation of the gospels 'thoroughgoing eschatology' (*konsequente Eschatologie*); it is still maintained, by himself,[1] and by others.[2]

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[1] It would be easy to add more than as many names again. It is necessary, however, to make a selection, and I have tried to indicate some of the landmarks in the discussion.

[2] Especially *Die eschatologische Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Göttingen, 1892, 1900).

[3] *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (E. T., London, 1925); *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (E. T., London, 1936; see also p. 153, n. 1); *Paul and his Interpreters* (E. T., London, 1912); *Mysticism* (see p. 148, n. 2).

[4] *The Words of Jesus* (E.T., Edinburgh, 1909); especially valuable for the linguistic background of 'Kingdom of God' and 'Son of man'.

[5] *The Gospel and the Church* (E. T., London, 1903); *Les Évangiles Synoptiques* (Ceffonds, 1907); and other works.

[6] *The Eschatology of the Gospels* (London, 1910).

[7] *Jesus and the Word* (E. T., London, 1935); *Theologie* (see p. 145, n. 3); and other works.

[8] *Die Eschatologie des Reiches Gottes bei Jesus* (Gütersloh, 1931).

[9] *Cambridge Sermons* (London, 1938), pp. 1-38; and other works.

[10] *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (E. T., London, 1938).

[11] *Jesus the Messiah* (London, 1943).

[12] *The Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge, 1935); *B.J.R.L.*, xxxii, 171-93.

[13] *Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue* (Paris, 1937).

[14] *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London, 1935); *Apostolic Preaching* (see p. 150, n. 3); and other works.

[15] *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (London, 1935); *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (London, 1938).

[16] *The Historic Mission of Jesus* (London, 1941).

[17] *Verheissung und Erfüllung* (Basel, 1945).

[18] *Christ and Time* (E. T., London, 1951); and other works.

[19] *Die Entstehung des Christlichen Dogmas* (Bern, 1941).

[20] *L'Institution et L'Événement* (Neuchâtel and Paris, 1950).

A quite different presentation of the eschatological teaching of Jesus is given by von Dobschütz, R. Otto, Professor C. H. Dodd, and others, of whom the last named may be taken as representative (not that all these writers fully agree in working out their interpretation). In criticism of the view we have just considered he says, 'That school of interpretation which professed to find the key to the teaching of Jesus in "thoroughgoing eschatology" . . . was really proposing a compromise. In the presence of one set of sayings which appeared to contemplate the coming of the kingdom of God as future, and another set which appeared to contemplate it as already present, they offered an interpretation which represented it as coming very, very soon. But this is no solution. Whatever we make of them, the sayings which declare the kingdom of God to have come are explicit and unequivocal. They are moreover the most characteristic and distinctive of the Gospel sayings on the subject. They have no parallel in Jewish teaching or prayers of the period. If therefore we are seeking the *differentia* of the teaching of Jesus upon the kingdom of God, it is here that it must be found' (*The Parables of the Kingdom*, p. 49). Professor Dodd emphasises both the presence of the kingdom of God and the fact that the earthly ministry of Jesus was not merely preliminary to a heavenly appearance but was itself of decisive significance. In the gospels the 'future' tenses are only an accommodation of language. There is no coming of the Son of man 'after' His coming in Galilee and Jerusalem, whether soon or late, for there is no before and after in the eternal order. The kingdom of God in its full reality is not something which will happen after other things have happened. It is that to which men awake when this order of time and space no longer limits their vision, when they 'sit at meat in the kingdom of God' with all the blessed dead, and drink with Christ the 'new wine' of eternal felicity. 'The Day of the Son of man' stands for the timeless fact. So far as history can contain it, it is embodied in the historic crisis which the coming of Jesus brought about. But the spirit of man, though dwelling in history, belongs to the eternal order, and the full meaning of the Day of the Son of man, or of the kingdom of God, he can experience only in that eternal order. That which cannot be experienced in history is symbolised by the picture of a coming event, and its timeless quality is expressed as pure simultaneity in time—'as the lightning flashes' (op. cit., p. 108). Undoubtedly in the gospels as they stand there are predictions of a future 'return' of Christ, but these cannot be ascribed to Jesus Himself; they are the result of the crude 'eschatologising' of the primitive Church, which speedily forgot, or at least obscured, the distinctive teaching of Jesus and fitted him, as a 'returning Messiah', into the common framework of undisturbed Jewish apocalyptic. When such perversions are removed it appears that an indefinitely protracted future is consistent with the teaching of Jesus. He was therefore not mistaken about the future (though the Church was); no Christological problem arises here. On the contrary, since this reconstruction emphasises that in the person and work of Jesus the transcendent divine power of God was present among men it is but a short step from it to the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation—a step which of course many of its advocates are more than willing to take.[1]

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[1] See the *Vorrede* (v—xix) in the latest (German) edition of his book on the quest of the historical Jesus—*Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen, 1951).

[2] For example, M. Werner, op. cit.

The two schools, of 'thoroughgoing eschatology' and 'realised eschatology', have each their adherents, but there are also many who take a mediating position, inclined (to speak generally) to the view that the extremists (if so they may be called) are right in what they assert, but wrong in what they deny.

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[1] I am acutely aware that in these paragraphs I have caricatured rather than portrayed the views of Dr Schweitzer and Professor Dodd, both of them scholars to whom I am greatly indebted and for whom I have so great an admiration that to misrepresent them, even with the excuse that brevity is required of me, would be uncommonly grievous to me. I hope that though I have omitted much, yet in what I have set down *οὐδὲν ἥμαρτον.*

Neither futurist nor realised eschatology (the third group would say) can be excluded from the gospels, or indeed from the genuine teaching of Jesus (so far as this may be known). It is hardly possible to summarise a *via media*; and the criticism may perhaps be offered that some of those who have avoided extreme views on the eschatology of the gospels have fallen into the opposite error of vagueness, though this is by no means true of all. It will, however, be best now to examine the material for ourselves.

(*A second article on 'Eschatology in the Gospels' follows*)

THE CHURCH AND TIME

by The Rev. Canon F. W. DILLISTONE

Two main views of the relation of the Church to Time are being propagated at the present time. The first I shall designate the Ontological, the second the Eschatological; the first is characteristic of Catholic thought, the second of Reformed: the first dwells upon the ideas of timelessness and eternity, the second upon the ideas of time's arrow and the End. There is, as we shall see later, the possibility of recognising that each view has a certain validity and of attempting to work out a fruitful relationship between them. But for the moment we shall concentrate our attention upon each in turn.

A. *The Ontological.* In his book *Christ, The Christian and The Church*, Eric L. Mascall returns again and again to the thought that the Church, as the Body of Christ, is an ontological reality. All Christians have been incorporated into the human nature of Christ by baptism and thereby have received 'a real communication of the sonship of Jesus Christ', 'a share in the life of God himself'. Thus everyone who has become a Christian has undergone a real change in the ontological realm: he is a new creation. But this 'incorporation into Christ is incorporation into the Church, since the Church is in its essence simply the human nature of Christ made appropriable by men'. The Church is the Body of Christ, a description which is 'to be taken ontologically and realistically'. In other words, the very title of Mascall's book suggests that there is a trinity which can be distinguished in thought though not in reality. Christ, the Christian and the Church are inseparable: they interpenetrate one another in the life of the Spirit. In very truth the life of the Church is the manifestation upon earth of the life of the Divine Trinity, for the Son of God has taken human nature and united it to His divine Person within that life. The Church in the Christian, the Christian in the Church, share ontologically in the life of the Godhead which is ever 'reaching out to humanity and taking up humanity into itself'.

When one begins to think in these terms, the category of time inevitably fades into the background. The actual language which Mascall and those who think like him use is that time is *transcended*. If, *ex hypothesi*, the life of the Godhead is unaffected by the forward movement of time as it is normally experienced on earth, then the Christian in the Church must actually partake of a life which is *timeless*. This view is clearly expressed by Father Florovsky in a passage which I shall quote at length:

'In the life and existence of the Church', he says, 'time is mysteriously overcome and mastered, time, so to speak, *stands still*. It stands still not only because of the power of historical memory, or of imagination, which can "fly over the *double barrier* of time and space"; it stands still because of the power of grace, which gathers together in catholic unity of life that which had become separated by walls built in the course of time. Unity in the Spirit embraces in a mysterious, time-conquering fashion, the faithful of all generations. This time-conquering unity is manifested and revealed in the experience of the Church, especially in its Eucharistic experience. The Church is the living image of eternity within time.'

The final sentence of this quotation provides a ready clue to the source of Father Florovsky's way of thinking and it is significant that the Eucharist is singled out as the deepest intensification of the experience of the transcendence of time. There are close relationships and affinities between high periods of sacramental worship and intense experiences of aesthetic appreciation. Amongst others, William Temple has described how in listening to a great symphony everything seems to be gathered together into a timeless moment of appreciation, almost of ecstasy. So in the view of the Eastern Orthodox the liturgy is perpetually in process: it is the reflection, even the actualisation, of the inner movement of the life of the Godhead: in any particular Eucharist the worshipper enters more intensely into the experience of that which is continually going on and thereby draws near to that sense of timelessness which is also associated with great art. Thus we may say that the life of the Church, reaching its maximum of intensity in the Eucharistic experience, is a life which transcends the ordinary routine of past, present and future, being part of the very timeless existence of God Himself.

B. *The Eschatological.* In a recent article in *Religion in Life* Professor W. D. Davies makes the following affirmation:

'The Church is the eschatological community of God, the community of the End. This is the new and enriching understanding of it which modern scholarship has brought to us. The *Ecclesia* of the New Testament is essentially an eschatological community, enjoying the eschatological gift of the Spirit; it brings to fruition the purpose of God, revealed in the Old Testament, to create a people for himself.' Almost immediately Davies goes on to ask 'What do we mean when we claim that the Church is the eschatological People of God?' and in effect answers his question by claiming that it is eschatological inasmuch as its purpose is to inaugurate the long-looked-for unity between man and man, God and man, which had been disrupted by the Fall. This is the purpose of the community of the Messiah—to inaugurate the eschatological unity of which the initial unity of creation is the prototype.

In somewhat similar vein, Clarence Tucker Craig in his book *The One Church* writes: 'The Church is eschatological in its very nature. It lives in hope of the final consummation of the kingdom of God. Its true character is never found within the compromises of history but in the Beloved Community which lies beyond history. Once we understand this eschatological orientation, we realise the inescapable unity of the Church. Competing earthly organisations may appeal to the same God, but he has only one community of the end time.' Elsewhere the same author speaks of 'the unique character of the Church as the eschatological people of God'.

Now although there are in such statements valuable emphases and obvious truths, there are also dangers. This concentration upon the eschatological can lead to a despair of time and to an exclusive concern with the disconnected moment. If the character of the Church, the nature of the Church, the unity of the Church belong only to the End, if the character of the Church is never to be found within history (I am not sure what is meant by the 'true character') then it is hard to see how experience in time has any relation to the purpose which the Church is called to fulfil. In its extremest form this view suggests that there is no place at all for continuity within the life of the Church. At one moment a gathered congregation may be 'a merely nominal church, an ecclesiastical shell from which the life has fled'; at the next moment it may be daring 'to live by the act of its living Lord'. Insofar as there is any pattern of the life of the Church, it is given in the event of the Resurrection. But this is an event which strikes like a lightning flash into the time-series; it is a momentary revelation of the consummation which belongs to the End. So if the congregation is open and obedient to the 'vital current passing and repassing between the Lord and His congregation' it lives, it becomes 'event', it anticipates the End-Time of final victory. If it is not so open and obedient, it remains bound within the fallen time-series. Thus instead of partaking of the quality of timelessness, the Church in this view is constantly oscillating between moments of victory and moments of defeat, moments of hope and moments of despair: it only exists when, as it were, the electrical charge of the eschatological victory sparks it into life.

We have set out these extreme views of the relation of the Church to time because it is our conviction that a truer view is to be found somewhere within the area which stretches between these two poles. The view which lays an almost exclusive emphasis upon the Church as an ontological reality usually pays much attention to outward forms and institutions. A sacred building, a cult-focus, a regular cultus—all these are important as symbols of the settled and ryhthmic quality of the Church's life. The passage of time becomes almost an irrelevance. Everything revolves around a central point and it becomes easy to lose all track of time—to gain the sense of living in a world of timeless reality. On the other hand the view which lays an almost exclusive emphasis on the Church as an eschatological reality usually tends to be indifferent to outward forms and institutions. They are passing away. They count as nothing in comparison with the glories which are to be revealed. Moreover, the only really significant times are the times when the common imagination dwells upon the character of the heavenly goal. In these times of concentrated intensity the days and the years are telescoped and the *eschaton* comes into sight. But these moments of high corporate experience are intermittent. In general men are conscious of floating upon the river of time which bears all its sons forward to their several destinies.

But what possibilities are there of some kind of intermediate position? Akin to the more ontological emphasis is the organic view of the Church which gives a real place to the phenomenon of *growth in time*. All our experiences of growth in the natural order are associated with a somewhat lengthy time-process. It is true that rates of growth are relative but in general it may be said that value and significance are associated in our experience with slowness of growth—in other words a time-span is an important factor in the growth to maturity of an individual or of a community or even of an institution. It seems that in order that the true nature of a particular object of interest may be disclosed, a period of time must be allowed to elapse during which the stages of development may be compared with the corresponding periods of time. A significant living object cannot be known simply by observing it at this present moment: time is necessary in order that it may manifest its true nature. The essential forms and qualities may be latent from the beginning but only in the process of growth are they made manifest to men.

Now it is significant that the Epistle to the Ephesians—an Epistle which has much to say about the Christian Church—lays special emphasis upon the phenomenon of growth. The whole structure of the Church grows into a holy temple in the Lord: the body is continually being built up: we are to grow up in every way into Christ, to mature manhood: the body of Christ 'makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love'. Probably the idea of growth is also to be connected with the references to the fulness of Christ but even if this is not so there is sufficient in the Epistle to show that in the view of its writer the Church is a corporate entity which is constantly in process of growth in time. Such a view, of course, still leaves many questions unanswered. How can true growth be distinguished from false? What is the mark of mature growth? Can different sections of the body continue to grow in relative independence of one another? How can one judge what is the time-span necessary to reveal what are more essential and less essential parts of the bodily structure? These are difficult questions which are much in debate at the present time. The important point we are seeking to make, however, is a general one. It is that the view of the Church as a timeless institution, a living image of eternity within time, does not do justice to the important and (in our judgment) altogether necessary element of the Church's life which is concerned with *growth in time.* We believe that the Church has gained maturity in the course of the centuries, that it has through its growth in time revealed more of the nature of the Christ who is its Head and that its still further growth and development will make possible an expanding knowledge of the fulness of God. Only within a slow-time process can the Church grow towards its maturity in Christ.

Such a view allows for the fact that in special seasons of concentrated intensity, the Church may realise more fully what is its true nature and may renew its life within that pattern. 'Let the Church be the Church' has become a famous cliché but it expresses a real truth. By participating in the Eucharistic action the Church enters afresh into the self-giving offering of her Lord and renews her own true growth in so doing. Through these experiences in concentrated sections of time the whole time-process within which the Church grows can be sanctified and renewed.

Turning to the other side of things, akin to the more eschatological emphasis is the covenantal view of the Church which gives a real place to the phenomenon of *interrelationship within time.* All our experiences of the establishment of personal relationships are associated with periods of time which allow for intercommunication and interchange. A man and woman, two friends, two groups, must be given repeated opportunities of spending time-periods with one another if they are to have a real chance of becoming related each to the other in mutual trust and confidence. It is not essential, it seems, for them to remain in unbroken physical proximity to one another in order that the relationship may grow. In fact there is much to suggest that the relationship becomes deeper and stronger when there is an alternating rhythm of togetherness and apartness. But that there must be periods of sufficient time for intercommunication to take place and for a pattern of mutual interpersonal relationships to begin to emerge can scarcely be questioned. It is in meeting (a process which takes time) that the unification of wills and purposes becomes a reality.

In the New Testament it is perhaps in the Gospel records that we are made most vividly aware of the importance of periods of intercommunication. Jesus was constantly meeting with His disciples as a group, constantly meeting with individuals, and in every case the time-factor played a real part. He Himself lived under a certain sense of time-urgency and yet He was willing to give time because only within a definite time-space could conversation take place and community be established. Thus it was in His meetings with His disciples that the Church gained its pattern and its quality: in each meeting He moved forward with them in time and in this way His Spirit began to mould the shape of their corporate life.

Again such a view does not provide immediate answers to all the questions we would like to ask. What are the conditions of fruitful meeting? How can the proper extension of the time-series be determined? Can two individuals or two communities which seem at the outset to have nothing in common save their common humanity, ever enter into a fruitful relationship with one another—however lengthy their times of meeting may be? Again whatever answers may be given to these questions our main contention remains: that the view of the Church as an eschatological community which only lives in the moments when it is raised to life by the commanding word of the living Lord does not do justice to the important and altogether necessary element of the Church's Life which is concerned with the creative meetings of individuals and groups within time-periods. We believe that patterns and expanding purposes have been established through such time-periods and that although the full pattern and purpose belongs to the End-Time, reflections of it can be mirrored in the corporate meetings of the Church when men wait upon the Lord and join creatively with one another in common trust and purpose.

Again such a view allows for the setting apart of special seasons of unusual solemnity when the Church enters with deeper commitment into the Purpose which the Lord is achieving in and through His followers. In pre-Christian times such seasons were spoken of in terms of renewing the covenant and although this terminology has not been commonly used in Christian history, the idea has certainly been present within the Reformed tradition. Baptism has been the occasion for the initiating of children into the Covenant-relationship and the Lord's Supper the occasion for the renewal of the People of God within the Covenant. In a certain sense it is the renewal of the Covenant itself. For the altogether essential feature of the Reformed rite is the re-presentation of the drama of the Upper Room. The actions relating to the bread and the wine are re-performed, the words of institution (and these include the reference to the New Covenant) are repeated. The worshippers all partake of the broken bread and the outpoured wine and thereby commit themselves to the Covenant afresh. Within the forward movement of the drama, the Covenant between the Lord and His Church and between disciple and disciple within the Church is re-enacted and re-established. But it is never perfected or completed within the experience of the Church in the earthly time-series. Only in the *eschaton* will God's purpose gain its final fulfilment, a fulfilment, be it noted, which may still include some form of movement within a time-series.

As I have indicated elsewhere I do not see any way of bringing these two views together into any final unification or synthesis. The fact is that even in the realm of physics today where the most exact measurements of time are made, it is fully recognised that there may be more than one scale of measurements, that in any over-all description of the universe it is necessary to employ at least two scales in order to include all the observable phenomena. (I refer particularly to the late Professor E. A. Milne's writings on Time and the Universe.) So it seems to me that in thinking of the Church we must allow for a time-scale of growth as well as for a time-scale of meeting. To the Church there belongs a certain given-ness which is to be conceived not as a static structure but rather as a form to be disclosed through a long time-process of growth. At the same time the Church is related to a goal, a goal which is to be conceived not in purely other-worldly terms but as a togetherness which can be sacramentally realised in certain significant time-periods within human history. The first time-scale is comparable to that which belongs to the slow processes of nature: the second to that which belongs to the concentrated intensity of clusters of critical historical events. The Church is not above time in a world of timelessness. Nor is the Church beyond time in a world of no-time. The Church as we understand it cannot escape involvement in time. Her task on the one hand is so to be related to her environment that she lives and grows within the time-series which belongs to the universe in which she dwells, on the other hand so to be related to the Beyond that ever and anon she may be realising in her own historical existence the pattern of the eschatological community which is both her judgment and her salvation.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND A FUTURE LIFE

by THE REV. NORMAN A. LOGAN

I

BARTH, in his *Dogmatik* (III/2), enters upon a close and detailed scrutiny of certain passages in the Old Testament generally considered to have some sort of reference to a future life. After quoting from Ps. 118 (p. 752), he goes on to say that we come here upon a definite borderline, beyond which the Old Testament does not venture. God is and remains the Israelite's hope in death and in deliverance from death. Of any renewal or continuance of life beyond the grave, however, the Old Testament has nothing precise to say. Even the few passages cited as proof to the contrary do not, in fact, speak of any such future existence. Barth examines these passages: Pss. 16.10, 17.15, 27.13, 49.15, 73.23 f; Job 19.25 f; Isa. 26.19; Ezek. 37; Dan. 12.2. He comes to the conclusion that, even in the last-quoted passage, the most explicit of all, we can only perceive the exception which, as such, confirms the general rule. Thereafter he reviews the ends of the lives of Enoch, Moses and Elijah, and describes them also as exceptional. In every case the text speaks of an extraordinary interposition of God which nevertheless leaves its precise nature wholly obscured. So, too, in every other instance where a man is recorded as having died gladly or full of days, we are to understand this as the direct result of divine intervention. For, that men are naturally capable of such an end is impossible; it can only happen through the free grace of God.

As to this conclusion there will be small dispute. Yet at the same time it may be possible, even necessary, to doubt whether the contention is altogether, or in the main, accurate: viz., that the idea of a future life finds no place in the perspective of the Old Testament, and that, of Resurrection (i.e. of that transition, change, and ultimate disclosure of this present life in the glory of God, announced by the New Testament in the light of Jesus Christ) the Old Testament says nothing (pp. 752 and 760).[1]

Let us start where Barth starts—with the Psalms: and, in particular, with that psalm commonly regarded as the most important proof in the Psalter of the belief in a future life, Ps. 16. Barth asserts that all the psalmist is here concerned with is his own deliverance from the imminent peril of death. This position can scarcely be sustained. Eichrodt, for example (*Theologie des AT*, Vol. 3, p. 165), declares it to be quite untenable, saying that whoever finds in this psalm merely a divine protection from the evil of imminent death fails, and in the most intolerable fashion, to account for the overflowing joy of the psalmist, and reduces the three concluding verses to a completely jejune phraseology. Had *that* been all the singer wanted to say, then he might well have concluded at verse 8 or, at the most, added a vow of thanksgiving. Evidently, however, just here at the close we have the highest goal at which his life aims, after having been blessed hitherto with a pleasant earthly portion.

With this exegesis the late Dr Adam C. Welch was in line (*The Psalter*, Clarendon Press, 1926). But that he went a good deal farther than Eichrodt can be seen from a paper which he contributed to a symposium in 1924 (*Immortality*, ed. Sir James Marchant), in which he discusses some of the other psalms mentioned by Barth as having no reference to a future life. Dr Welch discusses Pss. 91, 73, 16 and then 17, of the last of which he says that the partition separating the believer from the assurance of immortality, worn so thin in Ps. 16, is now pierced (v.15). 'So large a conclusion from such a slight saying might seem perilous if the utterance stood alone . . . but 49.15, e.g., can mean nothing else . . . The relation between the faithful and God is one which death cannot destroy. Whether, however, he is assured of resurrection or of such deliverance from death as was given to Elijah is not so clear, and is indeed a purely academic question. For what is most important in his utterance is that he has become conscious of a life with God which cannot come to an end through the accident of death' (p. 72).

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[1] Resurrection is, of course, pivotal in all Barth's thinking. Vide e.g. his *Resurrection of the Dead*, Eng. trans. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1933).

It is interesting to observe at this point how, in a footnote, Dr Welch declares his conviction that Job 19.26 'can only be fairly interpreted as implying not only immortality but resurrection'. Earlier in his paper (p. 66 f), he has been indicating how, from the 'prophetic' side, the Jews came to believe in the resurrection of the body. The prophets had foretold the coming of the Kingdom. What now of those who died before the Kingdom appeared, and what of the Kingdom itself? 'A little apocalypse, Isaiah 24-27 (especially 25.7-8, 26.11-21) said boldly that in the consummation Yahweh should swallow up death for ever—the Kingdom with all its citizens was eternal. But it also declared that He should not forget the lives which had committed themselves to Him, though they had been mastered by death.' This meant two things: that the dead should be raised, and that their reward should be, not a vindication of their righteousness, but the self-revelation of God.

II

The question now arises as to how far back in Israel's history we can trace this belief in Resurrection. Those with the most cursory acquaintance with Comparative Religion must always have been perplexed as to why Israel was apparently so little affected by her neighbours in this matter: for example, by Egypt. It is entirely incredible that the Hebrews should have been blind and deaf to the age-long Egyptian beliefs in Immortality and Resurrection (as, at later periods, to those of Babylon and Asia in the Resurrection Myths of Bel-Marduk, Adonis, etc. Cf. Eichrodt, Vol. I, p. 116). We now know that the humiliation, cruel death, and resurrection of the god Osiris repeated itself in course of time in every Egyptian, who regarded himself at his decease as an Osiris, undergoing all the indignities inflicted on the god, but finally triumphant over the power of death and evil (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th Ed., Vol. 9, p. 56). Now, according to the Egyptians, the Osiris beliefs were the religion of the first prehistoric age (Flinders Petrie, op. cit., *Immortality*): i.e. about 8000-7000 B.C. Is it conceivable that Israel should have remained impervious to all such influences?

A fascinating study by Harald Riesenfeld has recently been published in English (*The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in* *the Dura-Europos Paintings*), in which, recognising how fully the idea of Resurrection had been developed in later pre-Christian Judaism, and making use of other scholars' researches during the past forty years, Riesenfeld considers it established that the Resurrection belief was inextricably bound up with Israel's annual New Year Festival (whether in autumn or in spring), and probably goes back at least as far as Hosea. He cites the passage in Hosea 6.1 f, where the prophet is quoting a Resurrection-Hymn from the cult.[1] On such occasions the king would appear to have been the central actor, and 'these rites seem to have culminated in the solemn exaltation or "resurrection" which followed upon the king's struggle against the powers of Chaos and Death and the dramatic representation of his humiliation and descent to Hades. . . . In the same way as the existence of the people stood in immediate relation to the king's life, so the king's resurrection and enthronisation signified new life and new birth for the people within the frame of the covenant. On this point, as in the case of other "motifs" bound up with the festivals, we have reason to expect a relatively early tendency towards an eschatologic outlook: that which was enacted annually in the ritual drama was to take place in the future in a more marked or final way' (p. 5 f).

If this thesis can be maintained, then clearly it will be both possible and necessary to go a great deal farther than merely recognise occasional fitful gleams of a belief in Resurrection in the Old Testament. And the way, moreover, hitherto so impenetrable, not to say invisible, will at once open up to a better understanding of the New Testament's view of an Old Testament belief.

Indeed, only thus is the New Testament view at all explicable. For, when we turn to the New Testament, we find that, so far from its having nothing to say concerning any such belief in the Old Testament, it is shot through and through with it. After considering the sober, cautious expositions of Old Testament scholars, we are astounded at the boldness with which the New Testament not merely interprets but dogmatically asserts the Old Testament faith in a future life.

In this the writer of 'Hebrews' occupies, of course, the central place. After (chapter 11) affirming that Enoch was translated that he should not see death and that, similarly, Noah 'became heir of the righteousness which is by faith', he goes on to speak of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Sarah, all dying without having received the promises, yet believing they should still receive them. Furthermore, Abraham was prepared to offer up Isaac, through whom God's promises could alone be fulfilled, trusting that God would restore Isaac to him even from the ashes of the pyre. Joseph, too, in the faith of God's promises, instructed that his bones should be carried back to the promised land. Moses, we read, 'esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.' And so on to the end of the chapter, which concludes: 'And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect.'

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[1] Sung, by many if not most, only too easily. Hence the warnings and rebukes of Hosea and others in face of the Cult. See A. C. Welch, *The Psalter*.

What is here envisaged is plainly resurrection. And we are required to think of resurrection as more than a doctrine ultimately arrived at, in the later pre-Christian stages of the Jewish religion, by way of some sort of progressive revelation. Nothing less than resurrection was in the mind of Abraham and of all the faithful after him. That this is not the standpoint of Hebrews only, can be seen by referring to such contexts as Rom. 4.13; Gal. 3.29; Acts 7.5, 26.6 f; and we have also the words of our Lord Himself in John 8.56.

It may, of course, be suggested that the hope of the Old Testament saints can be interpreted only in the light of Jesus Christ—i.e. only by faith. The Sadducees, for example, would never be persuaded. Dr Welch makes a useful observation worth quoting here. 'The faith in immortality only made its way among the men who were religiously alive. The Sadducees, who properly speaking never were a religious party, but who merely represented the somewhat worldly, slightly indifferent section which appears on the fringe of every religious community, were not interested in the question at all' (*Immortality*, p. 74 f). Then, too, we may frankly admit that it is a bad thing to see, or import, into an Old Testament passage what you would fain take out of it. At the same time, it is equally reprehensible surely *not* to see in an Old Testament passage, and *not* to export from it, what it demonstrably contains. Thus, to interpret God's pledge of the promised land to Abraham and his seed as being anything else than a pledge of ultimate and everlasting possession to each and all of them, is to rob it of all substance and make sheer nonsense of the patriarchal faith. No, Abraham died; died and was buried; a stranger and sojourner in the country promised him; and he died in the faith that that promise would still be his. The same applies to Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, and to all the rest of the Old Testament saints. Their 'happy end' was, like Jacob's, made happy because of their knowledge alike of God's ultimate purpose, and of His grace and power over their ashes (Gen. 26.3, 49.29, 50.25; Exod. 13.19; Joshua 24.32). Nothing else and nothing less will explain the quality or intensity of the Old Testament hope and expectation (John 8.56).

III

Why then, to conclude, is there so little overt mention of a future life in the Old Testament Scriptures? Why, in so many parts, is it more the judgment than the salvation of God which is dilated on? Why do the psalmists, on the whole, cry out for God to deliver them from their painful circumstances?—sometimes with, it appears, a very forlorn hope indeed. Why, if Job was so utterly confident of beholding his Redeemer in the resurrection, is he elsewhere so flatly despondent—till God reveals Himself out of the whirlwind? Why should the writer of Ecclesiastes take so uniformly sombre a view of the grave, and consign all men indifferently to a dusty end? Simply, as Barth is never tired of reminding us (well aware of how much we need to be reminded), because, from men's sinful and guilty side, there never can be anything but blank despair of any hopeful future; this being every bit as true of the New Testament dispensation as of the Old (Mark 10.27; Rom. 7; etc.).

It is, of course, incontestable that only in the New Testament are life and immortality brought to light by Jesus Christ through the Gospel. And, to that extent, the Old Testament lies in darkness. But not in total darkness; not by any means. Enoch walked with God: Abraham was God's friend: God spoke to Isaac, and made Himself known to Jacob: Israel were redeemed out of Egypt by His stretched-out arm, and He revealed His Law to them from Mount Sinai; kings and priests, psalmists and prophets, witnessed to His having spoken to them in the concrete situation in which they found themselves. Luther's saying is, accordingly, as true for them as for ourselves: 'Where and with whom God speaks, be it in anger or in grace, that man is assuredly immortal. The Person of God who thus speaks, and the Word of God, indicate that we are such creatures as God would speak with in eternity and in an immortal way.' (Quoted by Eichrodt, Vol. 3, p. 166.)

We see, then, that the prospect of a future life is viewed in the Old Testament not from any man-made cult or wishful projection of man's innate longing for everlasting life. Israel were kept clear of ancient Egypt's, or any other neighbour's, easy resurrectionism: as, subsequently, the higher mind would have preserved them from all idle speculation concerning the deathlessness of the human soul. Man goes down to the pit, the whole man, and, as sinner and rebel, he can supply no good reason why it should be otherwise: on the contrary, that is no more than what he may expect.

This is what Barth is so rightly determined to emphasise with all his weight and authority. Yet we may take leave to say that he curiously fails to note the magnitude of what God offered to these men of old. What God offered them was not merely Himself in life and in death: rather, it was the Land that is seen, though from very far off; it was the pleasures that are in His right hand to bestow for evermore upon His holy one; it was the resurrection; it was immortality; it was death swallowed up in victory; it was Eden, or Paradise Regained. These were prizes which the saints appropriated by that faith which is the substance of things hoped-for, the evidence of things not seen. How this future life was to be brought about by God, at what unheard-of point Judgment and Salvation were to meet, that they, unlike us, were not blessed to see. Nevertheless they also 'endured, as seeing him who is invisible'.

In this faith they walked all their days. But they did not talk overmuch about it. They knew the demand made on them was to live this present life. In this life God is to be found, in this life obeyed: if not here, then not yonder. Thus, theirs is an example not to be despised, as though it were superseded; it is to be strictly followed (Eccles. 9.10; Phil. 2.12; Heb. 10.24 f). Ever remembering that this life is also only of God's grace (Lam. 3.22), we, as they, must live it to the full in the fear and love of a Redeeming God. The late Dr G. C. Coulton (in his *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 2) records the story of an old woman of Acre, in the thirteenth century, who told a crusading friar how she meant to burn Paradise and quench Hell-fire: 'for I will not that any man should henceforth do well in the hopes of the guerdon of Paradise nor for the fear of hell, but only for the love of God, who is so worthy and can do for us what is best.'

SOME THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

by THE REV. J. W. D. SMITH

At the beginning of the twentieth century two theological influences could be traced in the provision made within the Protestant churches for the Christian nurture of youth.[1] The first was the Calvinist emphasis on saving knowledge. For the Reformers themselves such saving knowledge was the fruit of faith. But the perils of controversy led later Protestant theologians to regard faith as orthodox doctrine about God rather than personal response to Him. This Calvinist emphasis on knowledge was reinforced by contemporary educational theory. The influence of Herbert was strong and intellectual instruction was regarded as the main concern of the day school. It was natural, therefore, that a sound factual knowledge of the Bible and of Christian doctrine should be accepted as the prime objective of Christian education.

The second theological influence was that of evangelical piety. The Sunday School movement was cradled in the evangelical revivals which can be traced back, through Wesley, to the Pietist movement of the eighteenth century. Pietism had arisen as a protest against the arid intellectualism of Protestant orthodoxy and it had re-emphasised the religion of the heart. Saving knowledge of God, to the Pietist or to the Methodist, was a matter of the emotions rather than of the intellect and it seemed more important to induce a recognised series of conversion experiences than to impart factual knowledge. The Sunday School, and similar agencies, were regarded as instruments of evangelism rather than of instruction.

These two influences, although inconsistent in their aims and methods, were to be found at work side by side. Emphasis on memory work and examinations existed along with the use of evangelistic hymns, decision days and special missions aiming at child conversion. The educational efforts of Sunday School and Bible Class aimed at factual instruction while the use of evangelistic methods implied scepticism as to the value of such instruction. Such scepticism was often openly expressed in the familiar catch-phrase 'religion is caught not taught'.

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[1] Wherever the Catholic tradition was strong there were, of course, other influences at work.

Twentieth century developments in educational theory and practice seemed to offer a solution to this latent contradiction. The importance of instinct and emotion in the development of mind and character was clearly recognised and intellectual instruction lost its pride of place in educational theory and practice. This important change of emphasis had an important influence on Christian education. It drew attention to the fact that thorough knowledge of the Bible and of the Shorter Catechism did not necessarily ensure the development of Christian character, and it turned men's thoughts to the springs of action in human behaviour. The psychological teaching which inspired the new educational methods was critical of child evangelism, but it offered a new approach, by educational methods, to the dynamic and formative elements in child life. A new conception of religious education began to emerge which promised to reconcile factual instruction and child evangelism.

Unfortunately this new movement in religious education took place at a time when theological liberalism was in the ascendant. New educational and psychological ideas were absorbed uncritically in spite of the pragmatic and behaviouristic assumptions on which they sometimes rested. With the decline of liberalism there is danger now of an equally uncritical reaction against modern emphases in religious education. It is true that some ideas and tendencies need to be rejected or modified but there is still much to be learned from psychological teaching and modern educational practice. We need a reassessment of modern tendencies in religious education. Such a reassessment might show that a sound conception of religious education can indeed reduce the tension between child evangelism and Christian instruction.

The modern movement in religious education lacked an adequate doctrine of revelation. The rise of Biblical Criticism in the nineteenth century had undermined the traditional view of revelation and the influence of Schleiermacher had turned the attention of theologians from the objective knowledge of

God to the religious consciousness in man. A theological climate had developed in which it was easy for shallow ideas of religious education to flourish. The conception of the 'experience-centred' curriculum was congenial to those for whom religious experience was nearer to the heart of living religion than 'revealed truth' as it was then understood. It was easy to conceive of religious education as a process by which the moral and religious consciousness of the child was progressively enriched and guided by exposing him to carefully planned 'worship experiences' and by introducing him to the thoughts of great religious teachers. Religious education became, on this extreme view, a venture of human discovery, and its subjective character was well illustrated in the title of a book published in New York in 1930: *Exploring Religion with Eight-Year-Olds.*

Religious education in Britain did not reach this extreme position but the same tendencies were present. The child was brought into the centre of educational thinking and it was sometimes forgotten that religious education must be like an ellipse with two foci, rather than a circle with one centre. We have sometimes been so anxious to relate all our teaching to the present experiences of children that we have diluted the milk of the Word with the water of sentimentality. In trying to modernise Biblical stories and to relate them to the experience of children we have sometimes lost the essential religious content of our teaching and reduced it to a vague moralism which has more affinities with an anaemic Pharisaism than with the gospel of Jesus Christ. Moral exhortation has taken the place of doctrinal teaching and a homiletic treatment of scripture has confused children's understanding of the nature of the Bible and dulled the sharp challenge of the Biblical message.

The rediscovery of the true nature of revelation has opened the way to a new doctrinal emphasis in our Biblical teaching. The Bible bears witness to a divine-human encounter which took place in the midst of history. The substance of the revelation was given in the encounter and is not to be identified with the words of the Biblical records which bear witness to it. Saving knowledge of God is the fruit of faith and Biblical faith is a personal response to the living God. Factual knowledge of the records has no necessary value for the child's growth in Christian character. But the true alternative is not to be found in a homiletic use of the records. We must use the resources of Biblical scholarship to penetrate behind the records and help children to feel afresh the reality of the original encounter. We shall not succeed, however, unless we make effective contact with the real thoughts and experiences of our pupils. The child, as well as the subject-matter, must determine our objectives and our methods.

The story of Abraham's call may be quoted to illustrate the point. This story can, indeed, be treated homiletically. We can suggest that those who follow conscience are walking in Abraham's footsteps and we can discuss situations in which 'Abraham's choice' may face a child. But this story of Abraham illustrates the central theme of Biblical theology, and we reduce it to the trivial and the superficial when we treat it in this way. We should seek, rather, by imaginative reconstruction of history, under the discipline of scholarly knowledge, to present Abraham as a real human being swayed by motives which children can, at least partially, understand. By doing so we can present the real doctrine of the story. We can help our pupils to grasp something of the original encounter in its historical reality and thus set before them the grandeur of that life of faith which commits itself unreservedly to God in response to His call. Living contact with the faith of Abraham may help to kindle a like faith in them.

The modern movement in religious education also lacked an adequate doctrine of man. H. R. Mackintosh in his *Types of Modern Theology* says of Schleiermacher that he put 'the mere "not yet" of imperfection in the place of sin'. The comment is an apt description of the doctrine of human nature common among liberal theologians at the beginning of the twentieth century. The word *sin* was unfashionable and the concept of imperfection harmonised readily with the biological standpoint of modern psychology and with the romantic optimism of Rousseau, which were both formative influences in modern educational thought and practice.

The more extreme consequences for religious education may be illustrated by a quotation from the American book *Exploring Religion with Eight-Year-Olds* to which reference has already been made. The teacher of a small group of eight-year-old children was discussing the question of obedience with them. One of them said 'When I don't mind my mother I have a funny feeling inside.' The teacher explained that this was 'the thing people sometimes call a guilty conscience, but attempted to give the children the idea that no one needs to have this feeling if he has done what he thinks is right. *As a matter of fact the teacher felt at a great loss to know how to deal with this feeling of guilt.*' (Italics not in the original.) Even within our own tradition there has been a marked tendency to underestimate the importance of sound discipline in child nurture and to dilute, sometimes beyond recognition, the authentic Christian teaching about sin, judgment and salvation.

At this point the needed correctives have come from psychology itself, and from contemporary history, as well as from the theological renaissance of recent years. The biological approach to psychology made it easy to describe sin as a 'failure to obey our future', in the words of a well-known preacher of the 'twenties, but Freud and his followers relentlessly stripped away the insincerities and pretences of man's moral nature and exposed the depths of evil in the human soul. A generation which has absorbed such teaching and seen the fruit of human evil in contemporary history can have little doubt of the fact that human nature is afflicted by a deadly infection and in dire need of healing.

Psychology and theology alike are reminding us of the redemptive power of love in human relationships. The importance of the love relationship is indeed a commonplace of child guidance clinics. But from that same quarter comes unexpected confirmation of the reality of original sin as a fact of social inheritance. Clinical experience bears ample witness to the fact that 'the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation'. As Professor Jeffreys has pointed out in his recent book *Glaucon*, the deepest problems of education, and of social life, cannot find solution except in the light of the Cross. The tension between individual and social interests in society remains unresolved, the need for some incentive to replace the hunger motive still baffles our statesmen, because man is held in the grip of self-love and is unable to enter, except partially and imperfectly, into a relationship of love and trust with his fellow-men. Man is a creature in need of redemption. It is only by love that he can be redeemed. How can the nature which is diseased by the absence of love produce that redemptive love which is its only cure? Such an analysis of our human situation—and it is the analysis towards which psychology itself points us—compels us to recognise that man's redemption must come from beyond himself if it is to come at all. Christian teaching on sin and salvation speaks directly to that need. No scheme of religious education is adequate which does not do justice in theory and practice to the centrality of those Christian doctrines.

Clear and careful thinking is needed at this point. Recognition of the fact of sin must not cause us to swing back to severe methods of discipline in child nurture. Love, not fear, is the redemptive influence in human life. Yet Christian love is not sentimental and law, as well as grace, has a necessary place in human relationships. The appropriate blend of freedom and control in child nurture is not easily attained. Christian parents and teachers are committed to a task which makes searching demands on their own spiritual resources. It is a task which needs to be faced in humble dependence on divine grace—and with the salt of humour and commonsense which can save men from the spiritual perils of over-solemnity!

It would be equally unwise to allow a renewed awareness of the power of sin to blind us to the dangers of emotional evangelism in adolescence. Adolescent 'conversion' may have little real spiritual significance and may, indeed, have unfortunate spiritual consequences. We need not neglect the warnings of psychology although we may reject some of its assumptions about human nature.

It is in an adequate doctrine of the Church that the true reconciliation between child evangelism and Christian instruction must finally be sought. The modern movement in religious education arose at a time when the 'social gospel' had a prominent place in Christian thinking. Coe's book, *What is Christian Education?* (New York, 1929), drew attention to the important truth that the beliefs and values embodied in community life are more significant factors in religious education than verbal instruction. Creative Christian education, he maintained, was only possible within a Church which expressed its faith through active participation in social change. There was important truth in Coe's argument, but it lacked an adequate doctrine of the Church. The Church must always avoid the Scylla of Pietistic separation and the Charybdis of identification with contemporary political and social movements, if it is to be true to its essential task, and it is only within such a Church that creative Christian education can be achieved.

Recent theological writing has been bringing us back to the conception of the Church implied in Paul's phrase 'the Body of Christ'. In Christ the Kingdom of God, the goal of history, was manifest in time. So, too, the Church manifests the life of eternity within time for the powers of the Kingdom are at work within it. The Church cannot be identified with the Kingdom. It is a community of fallible human beings and it stands constantly under the judgment of the Kingdom. But it is the community of men and women in whom the life of God in Christ has brought to birth the supernatural life of the Kingdom. It is a divine creation, not a human institution. It was called into being by the love of God in Christ and it is sustained in life, and restored to strength continually, as its members seek in penitence God's own gift of forgiveness and renewal in Him. As the community of the redeemed it is also a redeeming community. It is the channel of God's redeeming grace, through the proclamation of the Word, the celebration of the Sacraments, and the daily life of the fellowship.

Such a doctrine of the Church offers a reconciliation of the latent contradiction between child evangelism and Christian instruction. Evangelism is not merely a proclamation of a verbal message by Christian individuals. It is only when the Word is made flesh that it has power to save. The work of evangelism is accomplished effectively only when the Christian message is manifest in the life of a community as well as proclaimed in the words of an individual. Religious education, on the other hand, is not to be identified with intellectual instruction. There is, indeed, need for fresh emphasis on Biblical and doctrinal knowledge but the deepest moral and religious influences are a by-product of life within a Christian community.

The real problem of Christian education lies in the fact that each new generation is born into a tainted environment. In the earliest years of life in the home—even in the Christian home—the disease of self-love in the parents distorts the development of child character, awakening feelings of insecurity and an exaggerated self-awareness and self-centredness. In the school, the community, and even in the Church, the influences of original sin may bring to naught the most carefully planned schemes of worship and of teaching.

The hope of Christian education lies in the fact that within the Christian family, and the life of the Christian Church, the child is also subject to the supernatural influences of divine grace. Sin is real and is constantly present. But forgiveness is also real and a new beginning is always possible. We only think rightly about Christian education when we see it as an activity, unconscious as well as conscious, informal as well as formal, which takes place within the life of a Christian community.

When Christian education is consciously planned it requires the creation of a special community of children with adult leaders and teachers. Such a community has its own life with its achievements and its failures but it is also part of the larger life of the Church, set within the life of the world. In its manifold activities—and they should not be confined to worship and teaching—it will seek to express the Christian way in human relationships. In its worship it will make confession of its own failures and seek forgiveness and renewal, and it will bring before God, in intercession, the daily interests and concerns of its members and the wider affairs of the Church and the world, as far as they can be made known and intelligible to children and young people. In its study and teaching it will learn of its spiritual ancestors who walked by faith 'seeking a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God', of Him who was, and is, the pioneer and perfecter of faith, and of the great company of men and women in all ages, and of all lands who have followed in His footsteps. Evangelism and instruction are complementary aspects of one activity in which fruitful achievement is not due ultimately to our knowledge or skill but to our dependence on the grace of God in forgiveness and renewal.

THE PREACHER AND THE CRITIC

by The Rev. Dr WILLIAM LILLIE

I

Dr R. E. McIntyre in his recent Warrack lectures tells of a minister, who made the boast, 'I am an evangelist, thank God, and not a theologian'. The writer of this article can make a similar claim without the thanksgiving, 'I am a preacher, and not a Biblical critic'. The learned men of Biblical Criticism have, however, set for us preachers a problem in Christian ethics. The findings of Biblical Criticism being what they are, can we go on preaching in the way that we have been doing? Most of us in our preaching imply, if we do not explicitly state, that the words attributed to our Lord in the New Testament are translations of words that Jesus actually uttered during His life on earth. Indeed, we try to bring out every possible meaning of these words in the light both of the circumstances in which they are said to have been uttered and in the light of the whole religious heritage of the Jews which Jesus shared. There is a similar problem in preaching from any part of Scripture, but, in this article, I shall confine myself for the most part to sayings attributed to our Lord Himself. One reason for doing so is the very practical one that I have found a rich mine of examples in Dr T. W. Manson's recently reprinted work, *The Sayings of Jesus*; another reason is that whatever we discover to be right method in the case of the sayings attributed to our Lord is likely, with necessary changes, to be right method in the case of the rest of the Scripture records.

The reaction of any New Testament scholars who are generous enough to read this article may well be that far too much stress has been laid on destructive criticism, the criticism that regards a verse dear to the preacher as a late addition or a gloss or that questions the attribution of a part of Scripture to its traditional author or that alters a traditionally accepted reading. There is—and here the preacher can thank God unfeignedly—another side to Biblical Criticism, a constructive side that constantly gives new light to the preacher on difficult passages. When Dr Manson tells us that 'to "remove mountains" is a Jewish proverbial expression for doing the seemingly impossible', and that 'in the Rabbinical literature the title "uprooter of mountains" is given to some scholars who have a gift for solving apparently insoluble problems in the exegesis of the Old Testament', he is helping the preacher to make an Oriental phrase alive for his congregation. It would be easy to give hundreds of such examples, but we are not really concerned with them here, for constructive criticism does not raise the moral problem raised by destructive criticism.

There are two guiding moral principles in the preacher's use of the findings of Biblical Criticism. (1) A preacher must maintain his intellectual integrity, and cannot be too careful not to suggest or imply the truth of something which he himself does not believe. He has no right to quote, for example, words from the second epistle of St. Peter as written or spoken by the apostle Peter, unless he believes the epistle as a whole or the words quoted to be the actual words of the apostle. If I regard the verse, 'And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple, and he healed them', with Dr Manson, as 'untrustworthy', then I have no right to use them as a text, even when I am invited to preach a sermon on medical missions on Palm Sunday! Indeed I cannot without a destructive comment read our Lord's words to St. Peter in Matt. 16.18, 19, if Dr Manson is right that 'we should not regard the saying as a genuine utterance of Jesus'. To suggest in any way that words so impressive and so pregnant in meaning are the words of our Lord, if they are not really so, is simply dishonest. Of course there are cases where intellectual integrity like the law 'non curat de minimis', and it would be absurd to suggest that the preacher should be constantly pointing out minor variants to his hearers, but assuredly Matt. 16.18, 19 is not such a passage. Nor can I think of anything more damaging to intellectual integrity than the scholar's sophistry that these words, although they were not spoken by Jesus, so represent the mind of Jesus, as to be attributable to Him. (Many scholars I think more or less unconsciously so treat the discourses in St. John's Gospel.) The words, 'And Jesus answered and said unto him', mean to the man in the pew that at a certain date and in a certain place, Jesus used these words or their Aramaic equivalent to St. Peter, and if we are reading them in some other Pickwickian sense, we are being deceitful in our message.

(2) It befits the preacher to be humble. It is very clear that in a technical question of Biblical Criticism, a scholar like Dr Manson is much more likely to be right than the ordinary preacher, and Christian humility would oblige me to accept his view rather than my own. I should certainly regard this as the right attitude if I were using in my preaching an illustration from chemistry or aeronautics; I should take my facts from the skilled chemist or aeronaut. Yet there are departments of experience where humility hardly demands such submission—for example, politics. In spite of the claims of psychology and sociology and their derived applied sciences, most of us still feel that we have a little right to disagree with the expert in human affairs; most of all is this the case if we are appraising the character of a person. We shall come back to this by another road.

II

There are departments of Biblical Criticism in which the preacher must clearly accept the decisions of the scholar. When it is a question of the best manuscript reading, the preacher must normally take the reading accepted by the majority of scholars. No preacher can honestly use the Trinitarian words of the Authorised Version of 1 John 5.7, unless he makes it clear that they are a later addition to the Scripture text. So long as the critic bases his decision on the various manuscripts and their probable history, his opinion is binding on the preacher, although it is up to the preacher to make sure that the scholar's decision is not made on other grounds than the actual texts. In a similar way, the preacher must accept the translation approved by the majority of scholars. If in Luke 2.49 the Greek words *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου* are better translated 'in my Father's house' than 'about my Father's business', then the preacher must accept the scholar's opinion and its homiletic consequences. Of course, scholars differ in their opinions on some such matters, and then the preacher has freedom to choose for himself the text or translation he prefers, but if the variants are important, it is good sometimes to draw attention to them. The witness for Christ must avoid any suspicion of concealing the whole truth.

Our problem lies in cases where the opinions of the scholars are based on other grounds than linguistic and textual data. It is not easy or even sometimes possible to separate such cases from those referred to in the last paragraph, but they are cases where parts of Scripture, for which there is complete manuscript authority and no doubt as to the translation, are rejected on the ground of improbability in the light of facts known to the critic. And, while textual emendations and new translations would in no way damage our kerygma as traditionally presented, many of these rejections would. If the parable of the tares and wheat and its interpretation are, as Dr Manson alleges, 'probably the free composition of the evangelist himself', then we have no right in continuing to present them to our Sunday School children as teachings of our Lord. The same would apply to the interpretation of the parable of the Sower according to most scholars. Again, as we have seen, Dr Manson rejects one of the great basic doctrinal texts in Matt. 16.18, 19. Have we simply to accept this in humble submission to the scholar's decision?

Even as preachers we have perhaps small contributions to make to the science of Biblical Criticism. There are certain things very evident to the man in the pulpit that the critic may forget in his study. If our Lord went about each day teaching from village to village, it would have been possible for Him to use all the material attributed to Him in the Synoptic Gospels in a couple of days' preaching. This reminds us of the very limited selection we have of our Lord's sayings—a fact generally recognised and emphasised by New Testament scholars. It reminds us also that our Lord almost certainly did what every preacher does: He would use the same illustration again and again, altering it a little in each case to suit the circumstances, and sometimes adding some additional material. Dr Manson admits this possibility in the case of the teaching about the two great commandments. 'For the chief connecting link, the conjunction of the great commandments, is precisely the sort of thing that could appear over and over again.' This is certainly true here; but it is also true of almost every teaching of our Lord. It is just as likely that we have two reports of different occasions when similar teaching was given, as that we have two differing reports of the same teaching—the alternative which scholars seem to favour in almost every case. Again, when Dr Manson says of the saying, 'The field is the world', 'This does not agree with the facts', is he not demanding a type of speech more fitting to some *Principia Mathematica* than to preaching to Galilean fishermen and peasants? The preacher has always used language emotively as well as factually, and in a vivid epigram like this, Jesus is giving a perhaps one-sided but ultimately a true account of His mission; an Oriental teacher does not measure needles' eyes and camels' waists. It is indeed one of the fascinations of studying the Gospels with a view to preaching, to try to create imaginatively the situation in which Jesus used such a phrase and to see it not only as the *mot juste* but the Word of the living God with power in that situation.

III

It may be suggestive to illustrate what I believe to be the limitations of the methods used in Biblical Criticism from an entirely different sphere. When the Scottish philosopher Alexander Bain analysed maternal affection in terms of feelings of softness and warmth, he was, perhaps rather crudely, indicating genuine elements in the experience of maternal affection; they were probably the only elements that the methods of associationist psychology could reach. No one in his senses however imagines that Bain is telling us the whole truth about maternal affection. I have no doubt that modern psychoanalysis with its methods can give us a much fuller account of maternal affection, but with all its *ids* and *egos*, it would still be very far from the truth. We shall get truer insights into maternal affection from some of the paintings of the Madonna or from a poem like Kipling's 'Mother o' Mine'. This may appear to have very little to do with the methods of Biblical Criticism, but the analogy does suggest the inadequacy of any analytical method to reach the truth of any human experience, whether it be the emotion of a mother or the gracious words which proceeded out of the mouth of Jesus. It is only a mother with a child who really knows what maternal affection is, and it is only as the Word of God takes possession of a man that he knows its truth. It is not indeed the Word but Jesus Himself who is the guarantee of what He said; the sheep still know the Good Shepherd's voice and demand more than the arguments of criticism to reject it. Let us honestly ask why we accept the saying, 'Father forgive them for they know not what they do', as a genuine saying of our Lord's. The manuscript authority is ambiguous; it leaves the honest student the possibility of rejecting or accepting it. And some of us accept more because we have experienced for ourselves our Lord's forgiveness on Good Friday, than for any other reason.

Are we falling into the danger of making two kinds of truth, one discoverable with many doubts and hesitations by scientific method, and another directly imparted in a kind of sentimental intuition? The example which we have just given makes it clear that this is not the case. If the evidence against the genuineness of Luke 23.34 were as strong as the evidence against the words in the Authorised Version of 1 John 5.7, then regretfully we should have to allow that they were not words uttered by Jesus on the Cross. Yet we admit that one factor in determining their genuineness is our own experience of Christ. The scientist may feel that we are bringing in an entirely subjective, and consequently untrustworthy, ground of belief. But this is not so; our knowledge of Christ did not come for most of us through a mystical unverifiable experience; it came from the account of Jesus given in the Four Gospels, stories that were taught us by parents and teachers until they became part of us and a Word that we have heard, read and preached again and again. And the important thing for our present purpose is that the sayings and actions rejected by the critics took their place in our picture along with what the critics accept. Surely, the scientist will reply, this is a viciously circular argument; we construct a picture of Christ partly from doubtfully authentic sayings and incidents, and then we guarantee their authenticity by that picture. There are, however, two things to be said in our favour. (1) These sayings are no longer for us isolated sayings, (and how very much the Biblical scholar treats them as isolated sayings); they have found their place in an integrated picture of Christ, into which they fit; they are true for me, not only because I knew them when I was young and impressionable, but because of their coherence with all I know of Jesus. (2) This picture too of Christ in the Gospels has been confirmed by whatever personal experience I have had of God and Christ; by this I mean no mystical experience but our common Christian experience of grace received and prayer answered and unexpected flashes of new understanding. In this experience, just as in the Gospel, there are the things that puzzle, the things that seem self-contradictory and the things that are quite unexpected. It is interesting how large a part the teachings given in St. John's Gospel play in the picture most of us have of Jesus. On critical grounds, there may not be strong arguments for their authenticity, but how deeply embedded they are in our knowledge of Christ and how they come to mean more and more to us, as we grow in Christian experience. The argument of a very recent study, *Jesus, Son of Man*, by Principal G. S. Duncan, is naturally and properly largely based on the Synoptic Gospels, but Principal Duncan, who notes the 'growing readiness to find real historical value in the evidence of the Fourth Gospel' himself has obviously known Jesus through the teaching of the Fourth Gospel as much as of the others, and does not hesitate to use its words as genuine words of our Lord, when occasion offers.[1]

IV

When Dr Manson says of certain verses that 'these sentiments are put into the mouth of Jesus', or of others that this is 'an insertion into the story', he can only mean that at a certain date in the history of the Church, some Christians deliberately declared that a saying composed by themselves was a saying of Jesus. It may be that this was a familiar enough device in the literary world of ancient Greece—one thinks of Plato and Thucydides—but surely the Holy Spirit did make a difference here. There were writers of pious fiction in the first century just as there are pious fiction writers of *Brother Saul* and *The Robe* today, but no one doubts that they were writing fiction. Of the Apocryphal Gospels the writer in Hastings' Dictionary says, 'In tracing the influence of these writings, no question arises . . . of their reception by any section of the Church as canonical or deutero-canonical books.' It is surely reasonable to believe that men moved by the Holy Spirit in handing on the Gospel message believed that they were telling the facts as to what Christ did and said. If in the first century a Christian preacher were unscrupulous enough to present his own interpretation of the parable of the Sower as the Lord's there would be people who could say with authority that the apostles had taught no such thing. It is certainly reasonable to hold with the critics that words and incidents would not be always accurately remembered, but it is wise also to remember how accurate memories some Eastern people have; a Muslim schoolgirl in a Mission School in the Punjab repeated the Gospel of St. Matthew from start to finish without a mistake. It is reasonable also to hold that sometimes a writer's own comment slipped into the text; there are strange things written on the margins of many students' Bibles. It is reasonable to believe that the witnesses who told the story were ordinary fallible men, with no claim to be 'expert witnesses'; honest men will always tell a true story a little differently from one another. But surely we must think that the original transmitters of our Lord's sayings and the compilers of the Gospels as we now know them were concerned to use all their human powers and to seek God's help in giving a true account of our Lord's life and sayings. In the next generation, the editor of the Apocalypse had strong views on what would happen to those who played with sacred texts.

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[1] e.g. on p. 121.

There is perhaps an inevitable tension between the scholar and the preacher, just as there is between the scientist and the poet. This article will have fulfilled the writer's purpose if it has shown that in the realm of Biblical Criticism, the truth is not all on one side.

ST. MARK 13

by THE REV. C. E. B. CRANFIELD

THE difficulty of this chapter is notorious. 'No one will deny', writes Dr V. Taylor, 'that Mark 13 presents one of the unsolved problems of New Testament exegesis.'[1] Professor A. M. Hunter goes further and says: 'Mark 13 is the biggest problem in the Gospel.'[2] In Part I of this study we shall attempt to expound the chapter as it stands, as far as possible reserving the discussion of the main critical questions for Part II. This procedure is, of course, not altogether satisfactory; for it means that our exposition will be provisional and may need subsequent correction from the insights gained from the critical approach. Nevertheless it has certain advantages. For one thing, it may serve to remind us that a saying of Jesus, the authenticity of which has been questioned by critical research, has not thereby ceased to be part of Scripture but may still be the vehicle of the exalted Christ's conversation with His Church.

PART I

1. JESUS FORETELLS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE (vv. 1-2)

As Jesus leaves the Temple,[3] one of His disciples exclaims: 'Master, behold what manner of stones and what manner of buildings!' Lagrange may be right in seeing here the reaction of 'a man of the people, who is more impressed by the size of the materials used in a building than by the style'[4]; but in any case the sight of the Temple would naturally have aroused feelings of wonder and pride in the disciples. It must have been an extraordinarily impressive sight. 'To approaching strangers', says Josephus, 'it appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white.'[1] And it was the centre of the nation's life. The fact that it was of recent construction,[2] which should have been a sobering reminder of the fate of an earlier Temple, was perhaps regarded as a pledge of the revival of past glories, and the imposing mass must have seemed to bear 'the stamp of indestructibility; as a building erected not for a fleeting human life-time but to endure through all time as the house of God who for ever dwells with His people.'[3]

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[1] *ET* 60 (1949), p. 94.

[2] *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, p. 122.

[3] We have to turn back to 11.27 for any indication of His entering the Temple, but it does not follow that all narrated between must have occurred during one visit. Lagrange (p. 333) seems to regard the conversation reported in vv. 1 f as taking place in public: Lohmeyer (p. 267) thinks only the disciples were present — which seems more likely.

[4] op. cit., p. 332.

But was there perhaps something more behind the disciple's exclamation? Matthew inserts immediately before this the lament of Jesus over Jerusalem[4] (which Luke has in a different context), the last words of which are: 'Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' As by 'your house' the Temple is probably intended,[5] it may be that Matthew has inserted these verses here in order to indicate what lay behind the disciple's exclamation. It looks rather as if Jesus had uttered some word of judgment against the Temple (in addition to Matt. 23.38 we may refer to Mark 11.12-14, 17, 20 f, 12.1-12; Luke 19.41-44; cf. Mark 14.58, 15.29) and the unnamed disciple's words were something of an implied rebuke. So Swete, connecting 13.1 with Matt. 23.38, comments: 'The disciples inwardly deprecated such a sentence upon so majestic a pile. . . .'[6]

Jesus replies: 'Seest thou these great buildings?[7] there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.' In order to approach toward a true understanding of the significance of this saying, we must try to distinguish the various strands of thought behind it. We can, I think, make out several such strands with considerable confidence. In the first place, Jesus, although He affirmed the real sanctity of the Temple (as Professor Schrenk rightly insists),[1] nevertheless recognised that it belonged to the old order that was even then being superseded. 'It is because "One greater than the Temple is here" (Matt. 12.6), because He Himself is the Lord who is coming in His kingdom, that Jesus pronounces the downfall of the Temple. . . . The announcement of the destruction of the Temple is directly connected with the advent of the kingdom of God, of which it is the first act.'[2] The Jewish ceremonial was being at once fulfilled and abrogated by Jesus. The sacrifices would no longer have any *raison d'être* when once the Sacrifice to which they pointed had been offered. The Temple was being replaced.

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[1] *BJ* V.v.6. See the whole of V.v. and cf. *Ant.* XV.

[2] Begun 20-19 B.C. Cf. John 2.20.

[3] A. Schlatter, *Die Evv. nach Markus u. Lukas* (1947 ed.), p. 122.

[4] Matt. 23.37-39=Luke 13.34-35.

[5] Cf. T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, p. 295.

[6] *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (3rd ed.), p. 295. He quotes Origen, who gives as the disciples' motive: 'ut flecterent eum ad misericordiam loci illius, ne faceret quod facere fuerat comminatus.' Swete suggests that the spokesman was, as on other occasions, Peter. If so, cf. his rebuking Jesus in 8.32.

[7] The words βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς are patient of various interpretations according to the weight we put on βλέπεις and the punctuation we put after οἰκοδομάς. (*a*) If βλέπεις is not stressed, then (whether we read the words as question or statement) they are simply the equivalent of a gesture pointing to the Temple. But, if it is stressed, then the meaning could be either (*b*) 'You see these great buildings [now; but the time is coming when] there shall not . . .' or (*c*) 'You are gazing at (i.e. letting your attention be occupied by) these great buildings; [but you should not, for] there shall not. . . .' In either case a question could be substituted for the statement without making much difference to the sense. The Lukan parallel will admit of a similar variety of interpretation; the Matthaean is only patient of (*a*). Swete prefers (*c*) and reads it as a question and thinks Matthew has missed the point.

But, secondly, it was not merely that the Temple would soon be obsolete; it had actually proved a stumbling-block. It had been that again and again in the past, when the people of Israel had imagined that God could not do without His Temple and that therefore they could sin in security.[3] Now Israel's sin was approaching its climax: the people of God was about to reject its King. The destruction of the Temple would therefore be a 'token (*Zeichen*) of judgment as well as foretoken (*Vorzeichen*) of the Parousia'.[4]

In the third place, the Temple was actually a stumbling-block to the disciples. They were too much impressed by its size and beauty and needed to be warned that they 'must not let themselves be dazzled by outward splendour'.[5] As in the warning in Matt. 6.19-21, it is not just a matter of the folly of trusting in things that perish; the more important point is that to do so hinders one from putting one's trust where one ought to put it. Not only was it a vain thing to rely on something which an angry enemy could quickly raze to the ground; the more serious thing was that, while the Temple 'held the disciples of Christ in astonishment',[1] it was actually distracting their attention from Him. As Calvin points out, it was difficult for them to

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[1] *TWzNT* III, pp. 241-5. Attention should be drawn to the whole article on *τὸ ἱερόν*.

[2] H. Roux, *L'Évangile du Royaume*, pp. 279 f. Cf. Schniewind, *Das Ev. nach Markus*, p. 166.

[3] See Jer. 7.1-15, 26.1-24; Mic. 3.10-12. In foretelling the destruction of the Temple Jesus was following in the steps of the prophets.

[4] Schrenk, ibid., p. 245.

[5] Schlatter, *Das Ev. nach Matthäus* (1947 ed.), p. 351.

> believe that the magnificent splendour of the Temple would give way to Christ. . . . Owing to the prodigious costliness of the Temple, their eyes were so dazzled by the splendour of its present prospect, that they could scarcely entertain the hope that the kingdom of Christ would arise. They do not, indeed, in express terms acknowledge their hesitation, but they tacitly throw out a suggestion of it, when they allege, in opposition to Christ, the mass of stones which must be got out of the way, and which must indeed be utterly laid low if he intended to reign. . . . As the vast size and wealth of the Temple, like a veil hung before the eyes of the disciples, did not permit them to elevate their faith to the true reign of Christ, which was still future, so he affirms with an oath, that those things which occupy their attention will quickly perish. This prediction of the destruction of the Temple, therefore, opened up a path for the ignorant and weak.[2]

In the fourth place, there is no reason to doubt that Jesus had a sufficient measure of political insight to see that, if His fellow-countrymen continued in their present mood, they would sooner or later bring down the wrath of Rome upon their heads and that to a war between Rome and the Jews there could only be one outcome.

Our Lord's prediction was fulfilled in A.D. 70. No doubt the fact that He had foretold the Temple's destruction was a help to Jewish Christians at the time of the catastrophe. The fact that His words were fulfilled must have been a matter of interest—one has only to think of Deut. 18.22 to realise that. But are these two verses of more than historical interest—now? If our reading between the lines has been correct, the answer must surely be 'Yes'. First, they warn us against every tendency to hanker after that which has been superseded, against all 'Judaising' even of the most refined sort.[3] Having been set free by Christ, we are not to allow ourselves to be 'entangled again in a yoke of bondage'[1] by any fatal fascination of legalism. Secondly, these verses challenge us to consider seriously how much of our Church life and of those other things whose goodness we tend to take for granted (such as Western civilisation and culture) is threatened by God's judgment. If we imagine that every denominational tradition and every ecclesiastical vested interest and every bit of ecclesiastical pomp and circumstance are entitled to luxuriate behind the promise that 'the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it', we are like those who fondly repeated, 'The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD are these'. In this connexion it is interesting that in Mark and Luke this passage is immediately preceded by the pericope of the widow's mites. In both passages Jesus calls in question the complacent assumptions of conventional piety. This widow's mites are of more value to God than the rich men's large gifts: the glorious Temple is rejected. 'The Lord seeth not as man seeth.' And thirdly, they warn us against being too impressed by things that must in due time perish. It is as well for us from time to time to remind ourselves how much of what we call 'Church' belongs to this category. But, in the fourth place, the worst of being dazzled by such things is not just that one day they will let us down, but that they can so occupy our attention that it is drawn away from Christ Himself. They can become a veil hung before our eyes preventing us from seeing Him clearly and trusting in Him truly. We have to ask ourselves how far we have, by valuing such things as our traditions, organisation, buildings, prestige too highly and letting them absorb our attention, made them to appear in the sight of Christ as a mass of stones which must be got out of the way, if He is to reign.

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[1] Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (W. Pringle's tr.), Vol. 3, p. 116.

[2] op. cit., pp. 115 f.

[3] Interesting in this connexion are Bede's words ad loc. (*In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, Migne, *PL* 92, col. 259): 'Divinitus autem procuratum est ut patefacta per orbem fidei evangelicae gratia, templum ipsum quondam augustum cum suis caeremoniis tolleretur, ne quis forte adhuc parvulus ac lactens in fide, si videret illa permanere quae a prophetis sanctis facta, quae a Domino sunt instituta, admirando sanctum saeculare, paulatim a sinceritate fidei, quae est in Christo

2. THE DISCIPLES' QUESTION (vv. 3-4)

Between vv. 1 f and 3 f there is a change of scene.[2] Jesus is

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Jesu, ad carnalem laberetur judaismum. Providens ergo Deus infirmitati nostrae, et Ecclesiam suam multiplicari desiderans, omnia illa subverti fecit ac penitus auferri, quatenus umbra et typo cessante, veriorem ipsa jam veritas per orbem declarata palmam teneret.' Cf. Calvin, op. cit., p. 116: '. . . it was advantageous that the temple should be destroyed, lest its services and shadows might exercise an undue influence on the Jews. . . .'

[1] Gal. 5.1.

[2] V. Taylor (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 501) regards vv. 1 f as 'a self-contained narrative'. He classes it as a Pronouncement-story (p. 500).

now on the Mount of Olives. Lohmeyer suggests that 'More is thereby indicated than just a change of scene; it is on mountains that everything divinely decisive and of pre-eminent significance takes place (Mark 3.13 f, 9.2 ff; Matt. 5.1 ff, 28.16 ff) and so it is on a mountain that Jesus here announces the secrets of the End-time, and it is on the Mount of Olives which already according to Zechariah 14 is the site of the apocalyptic judgment.'[1] This is interesting; but it will be wise not to attach too much importance to it; for, if Jesus was returning to Bethany,[2] His way would naturally be over the Mount of Olives, so that it is probably better to take this simply as a geographical detail[3] recorded without any special reference to the associations of mountains in general or of the Mount of Olives in particular.[4] Mark's addition of 'over against the temple' draws attention to the fact that the spot where the ensuing conversation took place commanded a view of the Temple across the Kedron valley. It was from the Mount of Olives that the full grandeur of the Temple could best be seen.[5]

As Jesus sits[6] on the Mount of Olives, four of the apostles ask Him privately[7] the question which follows in v. 4. Peter, who is named first, was perhaps the spokesman, as on other occasions. We are apparently meant to understand that what

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[1] op. cit., p. 268.

[2] cf. 11.11.

[3] cf. W. Foerster in art. on ὄρος (*TWzNT* IV, p. 483).

[4] Had Mark particularly wanted his readers to recall Zech. 14.4, he would surely have written something nearer to 'his feet shall stand' than 'as he sat'. It is of course true that the Mount of Olives is in Zech. 14 the scene of the final judgment of God upon the enemies of Israel and that this idea is taken up by the rabbis (cf. Leqaḥ Ṭobh on Num. 24.17 quoted in Str.-Bill. I.841 and Targ. Song of Songs 8.5 quoted ibid. 840, according to which the Mount of Olives is to figure in the final resurrection). It is also true that in Ezek. 11.23 the glory of Yahweh, departing from Jerusalem in judgment on its corruption, rests on the Mount of Olives, and that in 43.2 the returning glory comes by way of the Mount of Olives. But I doubt whether these passages were in Mark's mind. The further suggestion of Lohmeyer (p. 229; cf. Schniewind, p. 146, Taylor, p. 453) that 'already by the time of Jesus there seems to have developed out of these statements [i.e. 2 Sam. 15.32, Ezek. 11.23, Zech. 14.4 f] the expectation that the Messiah would appear one day on the Mount of Olives' is, as Foerster points out (op. cit., 483, ll. 19 f and n. 102), hardly warranted by the passages he cites.

[5] Schlatter, *Die Evv. nach Markus u. Lukas*, p. 128.

[6] Attention may be drawn to the illuminating article on κάθημαι by C. Schneider in *TWzNT* III, pp. 443-7. Jesus normally sat to teach, like the rabbis; but here perhaps it is simply meant that He was resting on His way to Bethany and the four disciples seized the opportunity to ask their question.

[7] κατ' ἰδίαν; cf. 4.10, 7.17, 9.28, 10.10, in all of which a question asked by the disciples privately about something that has puzzled them introduces a further piece of teaching by Jesus.

Jesus had said about the Temple (in v. 2) had been troubling them. Maybe the four were deputed by the rest to ask Him about it. According to Mark the question they ask is: 'Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?' The first 'these things' must, while the verse stands in its present context, refer to the destruction of the Temple. Grammatically the second 'these things' should have the same meaning. We should then have a double question: '(*a*) as to the time when the Temple is to perish, (*b*) as to the signal for its approach.' So Swete.[1] But Taylor, while agreeing about the grammatical meaning, says: '. . . as the chapter now stands, *ταῦτα πάντα* ['these things all'] appears to point forwards, and it is in this sense that it is commonly interpreted.'[2] In other words, it is Mark who has joined together things that did not originally belong together and so has made it natural for his readers to take the second 'these things' to refer to what he has placed immediately afterwards. But here perhaps Lagrange provides a better clue, when he says: 'After what precedes, [the second] *ταῦτα* ['these things'] can only mean the destruction of the Temple, but that cannot be (this goes without saying) an isolated event. . . .'[3] So he takes the second part of the verse to be a question about the *dénouement*—thus the equivalent of the Matthew parallel. It may be that this wider reference of the second part of the question is not merely a reference forced into it by the Markan context and helped out by the words 'all' and 'to be accomplished',[4] but actually goes back to the disciples, who may well have thought of the destruction of the Temple as part of a complex of events leading up to the End. There is indeed evidence to suggest that the expectation of the destruction of the Temple before the End was not so unfamiliar to Jesus' contemporaries as Schniewind would have us suppose,[5] and that the disciples might naturally have associated Jesus' prediction with the question of the consummation of all things.[1]

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[1] op. cit., p. 297.

[2] op. cit., p. 502.

[3] op. cit., p. 334. Cf. A. M. Farrer, *A Study in St. Mark*, p. 363: 'They assume that the fall of the Temple is part of a larger complex of events, and it is about this that they ask.'

[4] *συντελεῖσθαι* is 'an almost technical expression for the events of the End-time' (Lohmeyer, p. 269; cf. Schniewind, p. 167). Cf. the use of the substantive in Dan. 12.4, 13 and 9.27 (LXX) and Test. Levi 10.

[5] op. cit., p. 166. But the evidence cited by him on p. 150 hardly fits in with this.

So we take it that Matthew here gives the sense of Mark correctly. The disciples, excited and disturbed by Jesus' prediction (v. 2), want to know when the Temple is to be destroyed and what is the sign by which they may know that the final consummation of all things is approaching. Their question about the End is just the question which Jewish expectation was always asking, the question which runs through the whole of Biblical and extra-Biblical apocalyptic.[2] That they should ask the question 'When?' and want a sign by which they might know when the End was approaching was natural enough. Their question is indeed one which the Church cannot help asking in face of God's promises.

> This desire to know exact times and to discern infallible signs corresponds with a natural craving for security, with an eagerness to possess already in a tangible form the secret of the future, and in some sort to compress into humanly measurable and therefore reassuring limits the accomplishment of the immeasurable design of God. So it is that the curiosity and ingenuity of believers and unbelievers alike have at all times been exercised on the apocalyptic passages of the New Testament, trying to discover behind the signs and the symbols names, historical events or dates, forgetting that the Biblical writings were not intended to nourish a science or an esoteric lore, but to serve as witness to faith alone.[3]

The disciples want to be told what will be 'the sign'—that is, they want an infallible means of recognising the approach of the End; they want to be relieved of having to watch. But instead of a single sign Jesus gives them a baffling multiplicity of signs.[4] The purpose of His reply is not to pass on esoteric information but to strengthen and sustain faith.

(*To be continued*)

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[1] Cf. Schrenk, op. cit., p. 239: 'The words about the sacrifice being taken away and the sacrilegious spoiling of the sanctuary (Dan. 8.11 ff, 11.31, 12.11), which are the prelude of all further Temple-apocalyptic, continue to have influence after the Maccabean period and ever give rise to fresh expectation.' For predictions of the destruction of the Temple after Micah but before A.D. 70 he cites on p. 238 (n. 40) j Joma 43c 61 Bar. (Str.-Bill. I.1045), b Joma 39b, Josephus *BJ* VI.v.3, Schlatter *Evangelist Matt.* 477 (quot. from j Joma 41a: 'we have a tradition from our fathers that this house shall be left desolate'). Schrenk points out that Ezek. 40-48 speaks of the new Temple of messianic times with pictures that cannot be fulfilled in any real temple here on earth. The idea of the new Temple is in Eth. Enoch 89.73, 91.13; Tob. 14.5, etc.; and the new Temple implies the destruction of the old. See *contra* K. H. Rengstorff, *Das Ev. nach Lukas*, p. 226.

[2] Cf. Schniewind, p. 167, Lohmeyer, p. 269. Str.-Bill. (I.949) cite in illustration: Dan. 8.13, 12.6; 2 Esdras 4.33, 35, 6.7, 11 f; Apoc. Bar. 21.18 f, 81.2 f; Sanh. 96b; Midrash Ps. 45, § 3, Sanh. 98a, 99a, Pesiq. R.1 (4b).

[3] Roux, op. cit., pp. 281 f.

[4] Cf. ibid.

BOOK REVIEWS

Theologie des Neuen Testaments. By RUDOLPH BULTMANN. Translated by Kendrick Grobel. S.C.M. Press. 25s. net.

IN view of the clamant need for a standard work in English on New Testament Theology the publication in English translation of the first volume of Rudolf Bultmann's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (*The Theology of the New Testament*) is greatly to be welcomed. Not that Bultmann's learned work will supply the need for British readers. It is, nevertheless, an important step towards that much desired end. There is too much in the German contribution that is stated too summarily and with a scepticism that is inadequately based to make further contributions unnecessary. On the contrary, the need is greatly increased by this detailed study and much invaluable information is provided by it. For discerning readers, who are prepared to test and to weigh what is here offered with a lavish hand, the book cannot fail to be at once a provocation and a remarkably rich quarry.

Already some readers are expressing surprise and misgivings regarding the opening chapters; but little is here presented which has not already found expression in Bultmann's earlier works, in his *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921, 2nd ed. 1931) and his *Jesus* (1926). In the present work, as in these, he concentrates everything upon the eschatological element in the teaching of Jesus, rejecting His Messiahship and seeing everywhere the intrusion of Hellenistic motifs, although now with an added emphasis upon the transforming power of Gnostic ideas upon primitive Christian beliefs. He rejects the idea that Jesus recoined the Messianic ideal by the inadequate plea that He does not attack it. He will not allow that Jesus thought of Himself as the future Messiah, and, without argument, rejects the prophecies of the Passion. 'Can there be any doubt', he asks, 'that they are all *vaticinia ex eventu*?' (p. 29). It is all as simple as that! The essence of the message of Jesus, as Bultmann sees it, lies in His eschatological teaching and in His ethical and religious demand which calls man to decision here and now. In all this there is much that is moving, but nothing that is new; there are no concessions or modifications, and there is no indication that he has been in any way moved or disturbed by the many criticisms by which his assertions and denials have been riddled. *Securus iudicat orbis terrarum.*

The second and third chapters on the *kerygma* of the primitive Church, and that of the Hellenistic Church apart from Paul, are of the greatest interest; for here it is remarkable how many elements which radical scholars have brought under the umbrella of Paulinism are frankly recognised as pre-Pauline, as part, that is to say, of the theology and belief of the early Christian communities. Even great Pauline passages like Rom. 3.24 f and Rom. 4.25 are described as traditional statements 'which perhaps can be traced back to the earliest Church' (p. 46), and Rom. 10.9 is described as 'a credal formula' (p. 81). The interpretation of Christ's death as an expiatory sacrifice is 'attributable to the earliest Church' (p. 84), as well as the recognition of Isa. 53 as a prophecy of Christ's person (p. 47). Several times Lohmeyer's opinion, that Phil. 2.6-11 is a pre-Pauline hymn, is endorsed (pp. 125, 131, 175, 232), and it is claimed that 'the earliest witness to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is Paul', but that 'he created it no more than he did baptism; rather *he found it already present in Hellenistic Christianity*' (p. 150; the italics are Bultmann's). Conservative scholars will be ill advised if they make too much of these admissions, for they leave untouched the vital issue how far these truths are of the essence of the Christian faith.

Bultmann recognises that the conception of Christ as 'the bearer of the word', whose coming was the decisive eschatological occurrence, calling men to decision here and now, implies a Christology; but what form this Christology must take is not easy to see. Bultmann could do us no greater service than to unfold it. Following Bousset, he attributes the origin of the name *Kyrios* to the Hellenistic community, and distinguishes varying senses in which the title 'Son of God' is assigned to Jesus: in the Synoptic Gospels where He reveals the divine power and authority through His miracles; in the Birth Stories, in the Hellenistic view that He is begotten of the Holy Spirit; and elsewhere as the son-divinity of Gnosticism, with cosmological as well as soteriological significance. The section on Gnostic motifs (pp. 164-83) is, of course, the most controversial of all, in that it affirms a fundamental corruption of the earliest Christianity arising from current redemption myths and beliefs connected therewith, which are indeed resisted in important respects in the New Testament writings, but which none the less have deeply influenced Christian thinking from the beginning and shaped its theological language. Here will be found many of the ideas which lie behind Bultmann's challenging essay, *Neues Testament und Mythologie*, which has led to much controversy in Germany in its proposal to 'demythologise' the New Testament, and has now been introduced to British readers in Professor Ian Henderson's temperate exposition in his essay, *Myth in the New Testament.*

The most valuable part of Bultmann's study of New Testament theology is his treatment of the theology of Paul. Of this it must be gratefully said that every student will find the linguistic and theological discussions to be of the greatest value. The Apostle's conception of Man previous to the revelation of faith is described in connexion with the terms Body, *Psyche*, *Pneuma*, *Zoe*, Mind, Conscience, Heart, Flesh, Sin, Death, the World, and the Law. An illuminating chapter follows on Man under faith, in which sections are devoted to the concept of righteousness, reconciliation, grace as an event, Christ's death and resurrection as salvation-occurrences, the Word, the Church, and the Sacraments. The section of Faith examines its structure, stressing the view that Paul thought of it primarily as obedience, and discusses life in faith and faith as eschatological occurrence. Finally, freedom is examined as it appears in Paul's teaching, freedom from sin and walking in the Spirit, freedom from the Law, and freedom from death.

The canvas, it will be seen, is large, and the treatment full and detailed. The work is indispensable to the student of New Testament theology, who will learn from it both when he agrees and when he disagrees with what he reads. The reader will want to go on to the next volume, which treats the theology of the Gospel of John and of the Johannine Epistles. It may be hoped that this volume also will find a translator as good as Kendrick Grobel, to whom we are deeply indebted for the translation of the present stimulating volume.

VINCENT TAYLOR

THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATE IN CERTAIN RECENT BOOKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

How Came Our Faith: A Study of the Religion of Israel and its Significance in the Modern World. By W. A. L. ELMSLIE. Cambridge University Press, 1948. 21s. net.

The Old Testament against its Environment. By G. ERNEST WRIGHT. (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 2). S.C.M. Press, 1950. 6s. net.

Man in the Old Testament. By W. EICHRODT. (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 4). S.C.M. Press, 1951. 6s. net.

Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Israel. By G. VON RAD. Zwingli-Verlag, Zürich, 1951.

Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament. By H.-J. KRAUSS. (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, 13). Mohr, Tübingen, 1951. 28s. 6d.

THE field of Old Testament study has been during these recent years the scene of continual struggle and change and the dust of conflict has made it extremely difficult for the onlookers and even for many of the participants to see exactly what is happening. In this brief review article which groups together several books, all of them valuable and theologically significant, the attempt is made to suggest the kind of picture of the Old Testament which is emerging and to exhibit some of the interconnexions of thought which it is important to recognise.

Principal Elmslie's book, the earliest of the five to be published and perhaps the one with the greatest popular appeal, is the work of a man who has chosen to stand somewhat aside from the main current of contemporary controversy. While this may have led to a certain one-sidedness, it has also enabled the author to make his own very definite and distinctive contribution. Dr Elmslie belongs to the great English tradition which has laid the emphasis on the Ethical side of the Biblical writings. This explains why, on the one side, he is so uncompromisingly critical of anything in the nature of allegorical exegesis and, on the other, shows so little interest in the Hebrew cult. His chapters, however, on the Hebrew prophets from Moses to the Second Isaiah are most movingly written and reveal great imaginative power. While the author is entitled to his own view of the Second Isaiah, which is substantially that of C. C. Torrey, it is unfortunate that he does not tell his readers that the view he is putting before them has the general concensus of scholarly opinion against it.

Professor Eichrodt's monograph, *Man in the Old Testament*, makes the same impression of tremendous moral earnestness as Dr Elmslie's book and in brief compass contains a contribution of outstanding importance to Old Testament theology. What is especially valuable in this study is the way in which the ethical thought of Israel is exhibited as developing in the concrete business of living. What we get is not ethical theory but the drama of the ethical struggle. Dr Eichrodt draws attention to the way in which the thought of moral responsibility towards one God enabled Israel to develop a legal system which, in spite of many borrowings, was quite distinctive. The Hebrew law, moreover, by being set in a history of the dealings of God with His people, a history in which God took the gracious initiative, was in its intention not legalistic. One of Dr Eichrodt's most significant insights is that into the contrast between the Greek ethical conception of the achievement of harmony between man as the microcosm and the world as the macrocosm and the Hebrew conception of obedience to the will of God, which confronts the individual in the moment of decision. Man in harmony with nature (a pagan conception) is contrasted with man moving forward in history to his destiny and denied 'rest in some secure position which is valid once and for all'. Israel, at the same time, is shown as being by no means indifferent to the joys of natural life. Man in his spiritual and physical wholeness is summoned to a life in which joy is to be the outstanding characteristic. Asceticism was alien to Hebrew thought. Man is required to play his part in ordinary life with its multifarious obligations. The struggle here was to keep the middle road between a humanitarianism which was not a perverted cosmopolitanism and a nationalism which was without arrogant exclusiveness. The dangers of exaggerated nationalism can be seen in the king theology which developed in connexion with the Davidic monarchy when the ethical side of the monarchy was lost sight of. Very moving is the section of Dr Eichrodt's book in which he traces the development of Israel's ethical thought in conflict with the things which challenged it. There is no attempt here to force it into a single mould. It is exhibited as a living thing which refused to be shackled by theory and, in face of the problems arising from political and economic life and from the grim facts of pain and death and moral evil, was driven on to a simple and hopeful dependence upon God.

Professor Wright's book, which like Professor Eichrodt's is another of the admirable series of the Studies in Biblical Theology which we owe to the S.C.M. Press, has its own very important contribution to make to the contemporary discussion. The author, who most usefully combines outstanding ability in both the archaeological and the theological field, is peculiarly well equipped to deal with the question of the uniqueness of Israel's religion, a question which is also the main concern of Principal Elmslie's work. Professor Wright joins issue with the contemporary Scandinavian school in criticism of the tendency he finds there to over-emphasise the similarities between the Hebrew cult and the other cults of the Ancient Near East. He insists on an original mutation in Israel's religion which determined its subsequent history, on the importance of history in Israelite religious thought, on Israel's refusal to find in harmony with the cosmos the goal of human life (cf. Eichrodt above), on the conception of a monarchy in Israel which never completely lost its connexion with the covenant mediated by Moses and characteristic of the early Hebrew confederation, on the transformation of the old magical view of life, of the nature festivals and of the sacrificial system. In his opposition to the exaggerations of

Scandinavian thought Professor Wright allies himself with Professor Henri Frankfort who has most timeously called in question the too confident generalisations of scholars like Professor Engnell of Uppsala.

The two remaining books which are chosen for discussion here illustrate in different ways the importance which is being attached in the current debate to the Hebrew cult and to religious institutions. Professor von Rad rightly points out the mistake which is often made of confining study to the movement of ideas apart from their concretion in cult and institution. He singles out for examination the cultic institution of the holy war which he believes he can prove to have been practised in Israel in the defensive wars of the period of the settlement and to have had a remarkable revival in the period when Israelite nationalism was stirring towards the end of the Assyrian domination, finding its documentation in the Deuteronomic Code. Of great interest is Professor von Rad's characterisation of the humanism which he believes to have appeared in the Solomonic period. Where one is compelled to join serious issue with this gifted scholar is where he seems to find the beginnings of faith in Yahweh in the experiences of the people in the holy war. This seems to imply a somewhat one-sided view on his part of early Israel such as one would scarcely have expected in view of his other writings. The reality of Israel was surely from the first associated with a distinctive way of life as well as with a belief in the intervention of God in history on behalf of His people.

Professor Krauss in his book makes a thorough attempt to solve the problem of the group of psalms which led Mowinckel to postulate for Israel a pre-exilic festival of the coronation of Yahweh and to suggest a cultic origin of Hebrew eschatology. Like Professor Wright, this German author opposes the tendency to find in Israel's cult the dramatisation of myth and is led by his researches to postulate a royal or Zion festival at the beginning of the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn, which would commemorate the historical event of the bringing up of the Ark by David to Zion (Samuel 6.2) and Nathan's promise to David of the permanence of his dynasty (Samuel 7.2). He connects a certain group of psalms with this festival and points out how the evidence guarantees not only the historical facts which gave rise to the cultic practice but also the association of ethical conceptions with the Davidic monarchy. Having established the existence of this festival, Dr Krauss argues that, after the downfall of the Davidic monarchy, the Second Isaiah found the fulfilment of the promise made to David in the expected return of Yahweh in person to Zion, and suggests the dependence of the coronation psalms with their characteristic cry, 'Yahweh has become king', on the insight of the prophet of the exile. However this may be, there are those who, without accepting Mowinckel's complete theory, would argue for an earlier, pre-exilic *Sitz im Leben* for the last-mentioned psalms—it is clear that in this book we have a notable contribution to the current debate.

The general impression which one gets from the books under discussion is that in various quarters it is being insisted that, while great emphasis is to be laid on the institutions of Israel's religion and the forms of Hebrew national life, there must be no failure to recognise the distinctiveness of that religion, however much its institutions may have borrowed from outside, and its fundamentally ethical and historical character.

NORMAN W. PORTEOUS

Petrus. Jünger-Apostel-Märtyrer. By OSCAR CULLMANN. Zwingli-Verlag, Zürich, 1952. Pp. 285. Wrappers, 17.70 Swiss franks; bound, 20.80. (French edition by Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel).

As expected, this is a masterly book, erudite, well-designed, clear and judicious. There are two divisions, historical and theological. Part I has three chapters, Peter as disciple, apostle and martyr, and Part II two, the exegesis of Matt. 16.17-19 and its application to the later Church.

During the lifetime of Jesus Peter had a special representative position among the Twelve. He was their spokesman (for good and ill), and much that Jesus said to him applied also to the others. But to be representative is not yet to be leader. The passages which speak of his responsibility towards the brethren (Matt. 16, Luke 22, John 21) refer to the future, after the death of Jesus. Then indeed Peter the apostle can be shown, even without Matt. 16, to have been leader or head of the Jerusalem Church. But not for long. When Peter, 'the type of a missionary, not a church ruler', left Jerusalem for his real work, the headship of the Church there passed to James. Peter was head of the Jewish mission, but in dependence upon Jerusalem (*teste* Gal. 2) while Paul was independent of Peter and less dependent upon Jerusalem. Peter's position is to be explained by John 21, 1 Cor. 15.5 and Luke 24.3 as well as Matt. 16 and Luke 22. The first commission was reinforced (when it became most relevant) after the Resurrection, and the lost ending of Mark may have described that first appearance to Peter alone which must have given him special authority in the primitive community. Probably, also, on the evidence of Acts 3 and 4, Peter was the first to grasp the atoning character of Christ's death.

Chapter 3, Peter the Martyr, first sketches the history of the controversy and then examines the earlier literary sources in considerable detail, with these results:

(i) Not before Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* 170) does any document *explicitly* assert the presence or martyrdom of Peter in Rome.

(ii) John 21 is adequate early evidence that Peter died a martyr, and is supported by other early texts.

(iii) Peter was not in Rome when Paul wrote *Romans* and did not, strictly, found the church there. That he was sometime in Rome is highly probable.

(iv) His martyrdom there is not demonstrated by reliable documents; the probability is very high, especially from I Clement 5.

Of later texts the weightiest is Caius' statement (early third century) about *tropaia* of Peter and Paul at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way, which shows the strength of Roman tradition, but cannot by itself be taken as proof. The discussion of 1 Clement 5, based on Cullmann's own article of 1930 and the subsequent literature, is specially valuable. Whether or not he is right in maintaining that *zelos* must imply that Christian divisions caused Peter's death, it certainly appears that Clement was thinking of his martyrdom in Rome, a conclusion often jumped to, and then vulnerable, but reaffirmed by Cullmann after close scrutiny as highly probable, though not certain.

There follows an examination of the liturgical evidence, principally the feast of SS. Peter and Paul on 29th June with the mysterious *Tusco et Basso consulibus* (= A.D. 258). Cullmann inclines to think that the festival was intended to rival that of the foundation of Rome on the same day, and that 258 marks the beginning of a joint feast of the two 'founder' apostles; but he is sceptical of what has almost become a dogma, on Lietzmann's authority, namely that it originated in a translation of their bodies to S. Sebastiano *ad catacumbus*. Roman respect for graves forbids, he thinks, the argument that the translation was due to fear for the safety of the apostolic tombs during the persecution, if indeed it does not preclude any translation.

Next the excavations. S. Sebastiano remains a mystery and needs further exploration, as does S. Paolo fuori. As to St. Peter's, Cullmann joins (mildly) in the criticism of Vatican secrecy and, like Professor Scheider in *Theol. Ltzg.*, June 1952, points out some technical deficiencies in the sumptuous official *Esplorazione*. The awkward siting of Constantine's basilica undoubtedly requires explanation. Cullmann believes that the pillared monument found below the *confessio* is indeed the *tropaion* mentioned by Caius; S. Paolo should yield Paul's. But what of the tomb? There is no tomb, but an empty space round which a few tombs are grouped. To say that the space was Peter's grave is an inference, and very dubious, since the earliest tomb is almost certainly pagan and not evidence of burial *ad sanctum Petrum*. Indeed the inference raises acute archaeological difficulties. Cullmann's belief is that the bodies could not have been recognised and recovered from the mass of slaughter, that the eschatologically minded primitive Church heeded little of graves, and that *tropaia* were erected, late in the second century, near the spots where the apostles had been executed. Thus excavation favours the belief that Peter's death took place in the Vatican region.

The whole argument so far strikes me as sensible and fair-minded. Cullmann does not press the argumentum *ex silentio* too sharply against the maximising Roman view, while he concedes all that is proper to the negative position of e.g. Heussi. His main conclusions are in my judgment inevitable. That Peter was in Rome (perhaps not long) and met there a martyr's death is not demonstrable; but the degree of probability comes near certainty, especially as no other place can claim his death. Many points of detail and some of importance remain disputable. It is difficult to distinguish precisely between representation and leadership, unless the latter must imply constitutional powers, and the word 'authority' is ambiguous, as applied for instance to the consequence of Peter being the first to see the risen Lord. Similarly 'dependent' (abhängig) lacks precision. If it implies constitutional dependence, I think Cullmann somewhat forces Gal. 2. Peter might well think he ought to take account of Jerusalem opinion; 'feared' is Paul's interpretation, and even that implies no constitutional subordination. Later on, I am not happy about A.D. 258. Granted that one suggested reason for a translation is inadequate, the translation is not thereby disproved. As Cullmann allows that the new cult was deliberately begun near the episcopal tombs, might not the same impulse bring the actual bodies together from their distant graves in pagan cemeteries? This might explain the absence of Peter's name from the *graffiti* on the wall near the *tropaion*, in contrast to S. Sebastiano. But if this view entails a second and unrecorded translation to Constantine's church, Cullmann's opinion is simpler, viz. that the graves never were known and that the places of execution, known through the *tropaia*, were later assumed to be the places of burial. We are still in the dark. I observe that Cullmann assumes the deaths of Peter and Paul to have taken place among the *ingens multitudo* of Tacitus. He never discusses Jerome's *last* year of Nero; hence it is easier for him to say the bodies could not have been recovered.

Part II embarks upon Matt. 16.17-19 in detail. Cullmann accepts its dominical authenticity, since it is thoroughly Semitic and could not arise as a community saying in the Greek Diaspora, while there was no reason for its invention in Palestine. *Ecclesia* is no stumbling-block. Understood as 'organised church' it would be anachronistic, but Jesus meant 'people of God' and as Messiah could call them His congregation. Cullmann makes the excellent point that repudiation of Jesus' ecclesiology goes naturally with repudiation of His Christology, His Messianic self-consciousness. Further, Jesus expected this *ecclesia* to continue the apostolic function of preaching to the heathen until the Parousia, so that building and binding are no more anachronistic than *ecclesia*. But the saying is not in its original context. The Marcan narrative is convincing and original; Peter's commission fits ill with his misunderstanding of Messiahship. A better context would be the Last Supper (cf. Luke 22.31). In this section the argument about authenticity is based upon solid and relatively objective exegesis, while the opinions about context, though possibly correct, are plainly subjective and psychological.

Exegetically, Cullmann thinks that Peter in person is the rock, not simply his faith. He is the most important among the apostles in 'rockness', a quality which they share and which is once-for-all, belonging to the *Offenbarungszeit*, essentially intransmissible. The Church continues to be built upon the apostles in their writings. Leadership, also given to Peter, is distinguishable and in a measure transmissible, though Peter himself exercised it *qua* apostle, as others will not, and pure exegesis of Matt. 16 yields nothing about successors. Historically, James became head of the Jerusalem Church, which carried with it some kind of headship of the whole Church, acknowledged by Peter himself. But if scripture alone cannot justify Roman claims, can history and tradition? No; the mere fact of a primacy could not itself be the tradition which justifies primacy, and nothing which emerged after the apostles can be known to be the divine will for the Church for ever. The historical argument is only valid if (i) Matt. 16 requires the Church always to have a single head in a single place (as it does not), and (ii) some one place can prove effective primacy from within apostolic times (which Rome cannot do). This argument is familiar, but no worse for that. Some will counter the emphasis on *Einmaligkeit* with tradition, but to my mind Cullmann has adequately protected himself.

I have devoted much space to summary as some readers may wish to know Cullmann's conclusions, pending translation. But summary obscures the fertility of his mind and the wealth of instructive detail. The exegesis of every point in Matt. 16.17-19 is most valuable, and, *inter alia*, the interpretation of Peter's mission most stimulating. I feel the master touch everywhere, even when I doubt or disagree.

Since *Petrus* is dedicated to Manchester University, an Englishman may regret a few details. C. H. Turner's articles on Peter are ignored, and R. H. Lightfoot not mentioned concerning *ephobounto gar*. Gibbon is raised to the peerage, and Wordsworth's emendation *neanides paidiskai*, current in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* for fifty years, is '*neueste interessante Konjektur*, A. Dain, 1951-2.' Worst of all, *The Apostolic Ministry* is cited as the Anglican view of episcopacy and apostolic succession! May these remarks be taken not as a reproach but as an invitation to make our better acquaintance.

S. L. GREENSLADE

The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers. The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation. By LEROY EDWIN FROOM. Vols. I-III. Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D.C., 1950. $5 each.

IN these volumes Professor Froom has published the results of sixteen years of intensive research in the interpretation and transmission through the Christian era of Biblical prophecies drawn mostly from the books of Daniel and Revelation. Volume I concerns *Early Church Exposition, Subsequent Deflections, and Mediaeval Revival*, volume II, *Pre-Reformation and Reformation Restoration, and Second Departure*; volume III, *Colonial and Early American Exposition, and Old World Nineteenth Century Awakening*; a fourth volume is to concern the *Nineteenth Century Recovery and Consummation of Prophetic Interpretation.*

This is undoubtedly an enormous undertaking. It comprises several thousand pages of astonishing learning, packed with detail and valuable information of the vast literature on this subject which has been produced in the history of the Church. All the volumes are thoroughly documented and carry full bibliographies and indices, making them an invaluable aid for the historian of Christian thought. It would be impossible in a work of such magnitude not to have inaccuracies, and they are apparent here, for example in the information supplied about the life and thought of Calvin, but on the whole the scholarship is painstakingly careful and exact, although the best texts of the Fathers and Reformers are not always used. Professor Froom, who is a Seventh-day Adventist, adopts a historicist interpretation of the prophetic books of the Bible and holds rigorously to a premillennial view of Christ's Second Coming. His scholarship is fairly objective, and his judgments are marked by candour and integrity. The work is by no means narrowly sectarian and students of all churches may be recommended to study it, for it provides an almost inexhaustible source of historical and biographical information such as he will find nowhere else gathered within the same compass. The study of these volumes, particularly the first, makes it abundantly clear how false is the influential thesis of Schweitzer, now worked out and set forth by Martin Werner in his *Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, that the history of the Church is the story of the progressive elimination of eschatology from its faith. A view like that could be formulated only through a prejudiced and unscientific refusal to examine fully the actual literature which is described so candidly and lucidly in the volumes here under review.

It is with sincere appreciation of Professor Froom's great scholarship and real indebtedness to him for the publication of his unparalleled researches, that we turn to criticism. Through these massive volumes Biblical prophecies are given an essentially secular interpretation, and no attempt is made to understand them in their theological message—that is particularly evident in the astonishing divorce of apocalyptic eschatology from Christology and in a signal failure to see how the finished work of atonement must be thought through the whole field of eschatology. No doubt he has tried to give an objective statement of the many views set forth in the history of the Church but when the views of the Reformers, for example, are discussed in divorce from the Christology and the soteriology in which they are set, these views are misinterpreted—and that reflects upon Professor Froom himself. To be sure he has reserved the exposition of his own theological views for a fourth volume, but the very fact that he can discuss at such length eschatological views apart from soteriology points to a real measure of judaisation in his eschatology which historically goes back to the Ebionite Chiliasm of the first three centuries. It must be said, however, in fairness to Professor Froom that he dissents from the crude Chiliasm of some early fathers, holding with the Seventh-day Adventists that the saints will live with Christ in heaven during the thousand years, and only afterwards dwell on the earth made new.

Proper criticism of these volumes can be made only from a positive understanding of the Biblical integration of Christology and eschatology—for it is the lack of that integration here that lies at the root of its misinterpretation of the Gospel message of the Kingdom. In the New Testament eschatology is part of the doctrine of Christ, in whom the Kingdom of God has already penetrated into our world, for in the life, death and resurrection of Christ the perfect work of God has once and for all been completed, although the full manifestation or epiphany of that awaits Christ's personal advent in glory. The last things have already overtaken the Church for in Christ all is fulfilled. Through the Spirit He dwells in the midst of His Church, so that the Church is made to live in the new age of the Kingdom of God. The two ages, the old and the new, actually overlap in the Church, for here and now through the proclamation of the Gospel the crucified and risen Lord is at work subduing all things to His rule, although the full form and reality of that *regnum Christi* is hidden by the veil of this present evil age. In the *Apocalypse*, which is above all the revelation of *Jesus Christ*, we have expressed the unveiling of the conflict between His Kingdom and the kingdoms of this world, a conflict in which the enthroned Lamb of God maintains the initiative and which will at last issue in His manifest and perfect triumph in the new heaven and the new earth.

In the thirty-three years of the earthly life of Jesus we have the presence of the Son of God veiled behind the likeness of sinful flesh, and unveiled in the self-manifestation of the Incarnate Word who is the Lamb of God come to bear away the sin of the world. Outwardly the life of Jesus was one of gathering storm and apparent disaster, but behind all there was manifest the majestic serenity of the *Ego Eimi*. That outward tribulation and His inner peace and tranquillity are nowhere better seen than in the heart of the storm, as on the Lake of Galilee, so in Pilate's Judgment Hall, but that triumphant peace is revealed fully only in death and resurrection: that was the apocalypse of Jesus Christ Himself. In the book of Revelation that veiling and unveiling of the Lamb of God is set forth not just in the setting of the earthly life of Jesus but in distinct apposition to that in the sweep of the centuries, in the course of on-going history. Outwardly the earthly ministry of Christ, the historical ministry of the Church indwelt by Christ Himself, is the ministry of the Suffering Servant, but inwardly the Church is mastered and maintained by the peace of Christ so that she does not let her heart be troubled. Here we have expressed on a broad canvas the words of Christ as He approached His passion: 'Be of good cheer I have overcome the world.' 'When ye see all these things come upon you, lift up your heads for your redemption draws nigh.'

The history of the Church in our world, in which the two ages overlap, is to be understood in that dual aspect. On the outward side, it is so often like an angry sea, but on its other side there is a perfect calm. On one side there is apparently a series of unlimited disasters, but on its hidden side faith sees that God makes all things work together for good and even the wrath of man to praise Him. That coming of the Kingdom is not open to historical inspection or

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observation, but it is unveiled in the apocalyptic vision of faith, in the Spirit on the Lord's day. This is expressed in the *Apocalypse* in terms of the apocalyptic image of a *millennium* in which the pattern of this world is given to reflect fully the will of the heavenly Father. Here we have the *Ego Eimi*, the *I am Alpha and Omega*, and we remember that while the Hebrew Aleph is the symbol for 1000, the Omega is the symbol for infinity. John has selected the *millennium* as the apocalyptic image to express the fact that the Kingdom of God is not a timeless Kingdom, but because of the Incarnation is for ever bound up with our humanity and our world, and our time, and also to express the fact that here we have perfect time, time in its fulness imaging the perfect pattern of the divine Kingdom of the Creator and Redeemer of men. *Millennium*, which is no more to be taken unapocalyptically than the beast with seven heads and ten horns, is the most potent eschatological image for the finished and glorious work of Christ, for the fulfilled but hidden Kingdom that was inaugurated by the ascension of Christ to the throne of the Father and which through the out-pouring of the Spirit interpenetrates the life of the Church on earth, reaching out toward the advent of the Son of God in His risen humanity and in His transcendent glory, when the Kingdom will be fully and finally unveiled in the new heaven and the new earth. It was because this lay at the heart of the Church's faith, that she worshipped her Lord on the day of His resurrection. The Church is already planted in the new creation and therefore in the Spirit on the Lord's Day the Church can look beyond the angry sea of the nations and see her true being already hid with Christ in God. Therefore to interpret the *millennium* in terms of the seventh day, as though the Church were not already living in the power of the resurrection, is in flagrant contradiction to the Christological eschatology of the whole New Testament, and is a return to Judaism. Professor Froom is, however, consistent in his views for he is a *Seventh-day* Adventist, and not one of those who seek falsely to combine a Jewish notion of millennium with Christian worship on the Lord's Day.

This departure from the Christological eschatology of the New Testament begins somewhere within the first Christian century, for it is evident that the profound element of fulfilled eschatology resting on the finished work of Christ so manifest in the New Testament begins to fade out of the thought of the Church. More and more the eschatological life of the Church comes to be thrust into the future entirely, and in that context the notion of *millennium* comes to mean something very different. Moreover the NT understanding of the overlapping of the two ages yields place to the Judaistic notion in which the two ages are stretched out in a line, one following hard on the heels of the other. Late Jewish eschatology is brought in to modify the NT eschatology, and one finds the Christian Church after A.D. 70 taking over cast-away Jewish apocalyptic literature, and though this is modified in many ways, it is primarily the Jewish pattern, and not the Christological pattern of the NT, which holds the field in many quarters.

This late Jewish apocalyptic used the concept of the *millennium.* On the one hand it is spoken of apocalyptically as 'the day of the thousand years banquet', but on the other hand the whole notion is politicised, for it is bound up with the nationalist aspirations of the Jews and is interpreted cosmologically and secularly in terms of the restoration to Israel of world-sovereignity with its centre at Jerusalem. Within the time of this on-going age there would be a thousand years of political triumph for the Jews. In this Jewish apocalyptic the earthly appearance of the Messiah is distinguished from the final glorious appearing of God Himself. This age only breaks into the coming age by the intermediate period of the *Millennium*, a period of fixed duration of a thousand years.

This was the notion brought in by the early Christian Chiliasts who took the first steps in the secularisation and politicisation of the NT doctrine of the Kingdom of God. They launched the idea that the Kingdom is to be realised within the time of this world when as yet it is unredeemed, for in the *millennium* evil is only regarded as under control. With aid from gnostic cosmology and Alexandrian allegorisation that idea was stripped of its cruder Judaism and then it led easily to the Roman identification of the Kingdom of God with the historical Church. It was John Calvin who pointed out that the fundamental error both of Chiliasm and Roman Catholic view of God's Kingdom is the meagrest conception of the resurrection of Christ from the dead. If this millennarian eschatology is true then Jesus Christ is not already clothed with the transcendent majesty of glory, for His coming again in glory and power can only mean the complete transformation of the world and the unveiling with His glory of the new heaven and the new earth. No coming again of Christ to dwell and reign on an unredeemed earth even for a limited period is thinkable in terms of the NT teaching of atonement and resurrection and ascension. Is it for that reason that Seventh-day Adventists hold the strange idea that after the advent of Christ the saints will reign in heaven for a millennium while the earth remains a desolate and depopulated wilderness? But this also is thoroughly inconsistent with an advent of Christ in the glory and power of His resurrection and rests upon the divorce of eschatology from Christology. No greater mistake could be made, and yet it is that very divorce that keeps on producing on the fringe of the Church hosts of apocalyptic sects, and it is out of that divorce of eschatology from Christology also that Communism takes its rise. That was apparent in the Anabaptist socialism of the sixteenth century as it is apparent in the roots of modern Communism.

One of the most interesting sections of Professor Froom's historical treatment is his discussion of the change that came over the views of Eusebius, the Church historian, after Constantine reversed the attitude of the Roman Empire to the Christian faith. In spite of his early *Demonstratio Evangelica* in which he shared the ardent eschatology of the early Church, Eusebius came to identify the hierarchical rule of the Church with the Kingdom of Christ on earth and became a bitter opponent of apocalyptic—indeed much of the odium that came to be attached to the *Apocalypse* is to be laid to the charge of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Christian Church would do well to study carefully today that fatal move, for it was not until the Church recovered the true doctrine of the person of Christ, that she began to recover something of Biblical eschatology. But the failure in the post-Nicene age to integrate eschatology and Christology meant that apocalyptic was thrust out on to the fringe of the Church's life where it became fantastic. There can be no doubt that the Christian Church today must recover, and actually is recovering, belief in the Second Coming, but unless that is fully rooted and grounded in the Gospel of the crucified and risen Christ, it will only become increasingly fantastic in this atomic age.

T. F. TORRANCE

Christian Vocation. By W. R. FORRESTER. Lutterworth Press. 12s. 6d.
The Biblical Doctrine of Work. By ALAN RICHARDSON. S.C.M. Press. 5s.

STUDIES in Christian ethics are notoriously more difficult than studies in Christian doctrine because of the difficulty of being equally at home in wide-ranging conditions of life as well as in the articulation of Christian truth. Of the two books before us that by Alan Richardson is the more successful. The obvious difficulties in writing on the Biblical doctrine of work are that the author may impose upon the Bible a unity which does not really belong to it, and also that he may suggest that the Bible provides an answer to modern questions in a way that turns out to be illusory. Neither of these pitfalls entraps Canon Richardson. What he has written is a percipient study of the Bible as it is, containing teaching which will help and not hinder the weaving of Biblical truth into modern conditions. At the end of his study, he relates work to the Eucharist, and in this his Anglican tradition will prove a hindrance as well as a help to other readers.

Professor Forrester has given a more spacious survey—dividing his book into studies of the Call (mainly theological) and the Calling (mainly sociological). Those who have studied the history of Christian Social doctrines in other books will profit most by Professor Forrester, whose treatment is not systematic, but illuminated by brilliant aperçus. It is a pity that he follows (pp. 34-5) the Bishop of Oxford in interpreting *κλῆσις* in 1 Cor. 7 of secular occupation, whereas it is quite certain, as Richardson rightly shows (on page 36 of his book), that it refers to the calling to salvation. But Professor Forrester is rigorous in his criticism of two standards of morality, he criticises the idea that the pre-Constantine Church was pacifist, and he insists that the Church has usually been most serviceable to God and most faithful in its witness to truth and righteousness and freedom as a broken body. Not all Professor Forrester's opinions will commend themselves to his readers, but they will stir them all to think again.

In the second half of his book Professor Forrester insists on the importance of vocation for the recovery of confidence in work. He then surveys the history of the attitude to work in Greek and Hebrew traditions, in the history of the Church with special attention to the Reformation and its relation to the 'spirit of capitalism'. In the modern period he gives special attention to the work of Marx in forcing us to take the Reformation seriously. Professor Forrester's final chapter on 'The call to the Ministry in a "Cosmos of Callings" ' exhibits in a striking way both the need to relate the Christian understanding of the Calling of God to the experience of daily life, and also the difficulty of doing so. Only the life of the Church actively transforming the experience of daily life by the glory of God has power to convince the world that the Calling of God is real. And we are finding this very difficult to do. Many readers will find in Professor Forrester's book an effective communication of the best that has been written on Christian social teaching, and with all the stimulus of his own distinctive experience.

H. Cunliffe-Jones

Der Römische Katholizismus. Ein Anderes Evangelium? Evangelischer Verlag, Zollikon-Zürich.

Politischer Katholizismus als theologisches Problem. By K. G. Steck. Theologische Existenz heute. Neue Folge. 11.33. Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.

The Roman Catholic Church constitutes a perennial problem for the Churches of the Reformation, raising questions historical, theological, social and political, which are being discussed with renewed interest today. Among Protestants the revival of Theology has begotten a greater desire to understand Roman Catholicism and to do justice to its witness to Christian truth. This has become all the more needful since the Ecumenical Movement, in which Rome officially refuses to participate, encounters the claim that the Roman Catholic Church is the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to which all others must return by way of submission. The manifold challenge to the Christian way of life would seem to demand combined action on the part of all Christians, and the Roman Catholic Church possesses a body of social and political doctrine which evokes respect, if not total agreement, on the part of Protestants who have a special sense of the Church's responsibility here. Has Rome the answer to Communism? Moreover there is the seemingly growing influence of Rome in the public life of the Western peoples. In some countries she has the power to persecute. Elsewhere she can exercise pressure on democratic governments and institutions, e.g. the Press. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Roman Catholic question is again a matter of widespread concern.

The two brochures before us are examples of this discussion on the theological level. The former is a pastoral letter addressed in 1950 by the General Synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands to its faithful people, translated into German and published in Zürich as 'equally necessary for the Swiss Reformed Churches'. Indeed it might well be translated into other languages too, for its relevance as a study of the difference between Rome and the Churches of the Reformation is universal. While it is firm, there is no trace of controversial acerbity. Rather it speaks the truth in love. There is full recognition of what Protestants and Romanists hold in common and of what Protestants have to learn from Rome. Nevertheless it is maintained that, tested by Scripture, Roman Catholicism is another Gospel as, e.g., in its tendency to overvalue the powers and virtue of man, to make 'good works' meritorious in the sight of God, and so to obscure grace as to make men uncertain of their salvation. Professing to mediate the redeeming work of Christ through the machinery of priesthood and sacraments, it obscures the continual spiritual presence of Christ with His people; and in identifying the Church with the Kingdom of God it tends to identify the worldly interests of the Roman Church with the interests of the Kingdom, and so to justify its striving for political power. Essentially the Reformation was a protest against the evils resulting from these false doctrines and a return to the truth of the Gospel. All this ground is covered briefly but with lucidity and cogency, so that this little book is a model for literature of this kind.

K. G. Steck's brochure, *Political Catholicism as Theological Problem*, is more limited in scope and is addressed more particularly to a German and a Lutheran audience. It begins by pointing out the weakness, by comparison with Romanism, of the German Evangelical Churches in spite of a growing sense of responsibility within them for social and political questions. This is due to the lack of an accepted social and political doctrine and programme, such as is an essential element in Catholicism; in accord with which Pius X could describe the aim of the Roman Church as 'To restore all things in Christ.' A closely reasoned study is made of the relevant Papal Encyclicals since 1903, showing that they assume (1) the compatibility of Reason and Revelation, Faith and Philosophy (Aristotle), (2) the identity of the Roman Church with the Kingdom of God, and (3) the infallible authority of the Pope. These assumptions, however, involve, from the Protestant point of view, (1) the attribution of a relative autonomy to human reason, (2) the acceptance of a mundane eschatology, and (3) a legalising of the Gospel and a secularising of the Church in the name of the 'Christianising' of society. They cannot therefore be accepted by the Evangelical Churches. But this does not mean that these Churches must be without a social and political Ethic. If they will return to Luther they may learn from him that such an Ethic, with a sounder authority behind it, may be drawn from the Scriptures themselves, whereby the pretensions of human philosophy may be restrained. This is a book only for the trained theologian.

John H. S. Burleigh

Christian Faith and the Scientific Attitude. By W. A. Whitehouse. Pp. 149. Oliver and Boyd, 1952. 12s. 6d.

This is an important book, and significantly different from others that might be thought to resemble it. There are many books, small and large, about the relation of science to religion, but this is not quite one of them. What is here set over against science is not religion in general, still less the life of the human spirit in all its extra-scientific ranges, but the Christian Gospel; and not any 'expurgated' form of that Gospel, but the fulness of it as given in the Church's teaching. The two terms which it attempts to relate are thus scientific thinking and 'Church thinking'. The latter phrase sounds like a translation from the German and like an echo of Dr Barth's *Kirchliche Dogmatik*; and indeed Mr Whitehouse sets out by frankly declaring that he is committed to Christianity in a way that brings him 'more into line with Dr Barth than with, say, Dr Raven or Mr C. S. Lewis'. At the same time he is a highly-trained Cambridge mathematician, brought up to the scientific attitude of which he writes, and still adhering to it in spite of his later preference for theological study. To this day, he tells us, he is 'more at home at a lecture by a physicist on why the earth is a magnet than at a lecture by a student of letters or of history'. It is this unusual combination in Mr Whitehouse, of a Barthian or near-Barthian theologian with a mind trained in science rather than the humanities, that gives to his book its special character and value.

It also makes his book rather difficult reading. The transition from one thought, from one sentence or paragraph, to the next is not of the smoothness to which we have been accustomed by those theologians whose training has been rather in the philosophical disciplines, and the same is true of the structure of the book as a whole and the interconnexion of its various chapters. But the reader must not allow himself to be discouraged by this. If it requires more than one reading, or a going back from the later chapters to the earlier, before the full weight of the argument can be grasped, he will nevertheless find himself well rewarded in the end. He will find himself left with a careful analysis of the nature of scientific evidence and the authority attaching to scientific results, and with a parallel analysis of the nature of Christian conviction and the authority attaching to the Christian Gospel. But the central chapters of the book are really an exposition of Christian belief—in Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Mr Whitehouse is here, as it were, reminding himself as scientific thinker of the full extent of his commitment as Christian believer and Church member, determined to abate no whit of the difficulty of integrating these two strands of his mental life by whittling down either in order the more easily to mortise it into the other. He is often very tentative in his depositions. Many of his sentences are prefaced or interrupted by the words 'I think' or their equivalent. What he thus thinks will not always carry the assent of the reader, and especially there will be theological readers who will quarrel with his analysis of the nature of religious conviction. His tentativeness, however, is but the reverse side of a scrupulous determination to be honest with himself and to avoid any overstatement of the confidence which he feels in his own conclusions. This sincerity, together with the genuine independence and originality of much of the argumentation, makes this an attractive book and one that should certainly not be missed.

By a curious mistake, a long passage on page 49 from the *Westminster Confession*, Chapter 1, § 4 and 5, is attributed to Calvin's *Institutes*, Book 1, Chapters 4 and 5.

John Baillie

The Household of Faith. By T. Ralph Morton. The Iona Community. 6s. 6d.

This 'essay on the changing pattern of the Church's life' arose out of 'heated discussion and prolonged study' in the Iona Community. The Community itself is taken for granted, though an outsider may think that he has discovered something about it when the book is finished. The greater part of the essay is taken up with the interpretation of previous experiments in community life, rather in the manner of St. Stephen's interpretation of Old Testament history in *The Acts of the Apostles*, and a little with the discussion of present problems.

'To become more and more clear about what we ought to be doing and more and more aware that we are unlikely to do it is very dangerous: it dissolves our conviction in the things that we are doing and leaves our theorising entirely in the air.' 'Rarely do we ask: "How can the Church be a better instrument?" Rather we ask, and almost with an air of relief: "What can the Church be expected to do?"' 'The question is not: "What was wrong with the pattern of the past that it has not remained permanent?" but rather "Was it adequate for its day and was it used of God?" . . . It may well be that the Church has always failed to be truly an instrument fit for its purpose. . . . The wonder is that in each age of revolution the Church did change to a new pattern. That is why we say that we believe in the Church.'

The approach to history implied in these quotations is free from the dangers of romanticism, but not altogether from the more subtle danger of selecting what is relevant, and then missing the full impact of its relevance through lack of attention to the context. Mr Morton seems to me to miss part of the point of Celtic and Benedictine monasticism because he too easily writes off Egyptian monasticism as entirely eremetical (but the Pachomian establishments must have been more like factories than anything else in the ancient world) and misses the significance of the widows and virgins of the ancient Church, not only for monasticism, but for the ministry of women, a matter that is much on his mind. I think these widows and virgins were primarily keeping vigil for the signs of the times and for the Second Coming. They lived a community life under the discipline of the Church because only through obedience and responsibility to a community can we distinguish obedience to the voice of God from the voice of our own self-will. But they were scouts, not missionaries. S. Gregory the Great did not become a monk because 'he felt the call to aggressive missionary work'. Rather he was called back from his monastery to the service of the Church because of his administrative experience, and he called others back with like experience of the world of action, and so inaugurated the brief period of Benedictine missions. But this lasted scarcely more than two centuries. The Celtic monk too was not by intention a missionary, but a penitent and a pilgrim seeking in distant and solitary islands the solitude that Antony had found in the Egyptian desert. As Antony and Pachomius fascinated the Egyptian fellahin and made upper Egypt into a solidly Christian country, so Columba and his friends had a similar fascination for the Hebridean islanders. They had to preach, to avoid being worshipped, but their manner of life was not designed to facilitate missionary work. Neither Iona nor Lindisfarne could be called a convenient centre for missionary expeditions.

Mr Morton knows very well that those who, as he says, 'saved Europe' by going into monasteries 'did not know to what their action would lead and did not care. They knew only that they must decide this personal question in this way.' They were not beginning a movement for the reform of the whole clergy on monastic lines, like the one that began at Cluny in the tenth century. Still less were they thinking 'in terms of a new pattern of life in a world Church'. Movements for Church reformation have worked through monastic and other communities, but the original monastic movements were not intended to assist in the reformation of the Church.

George Every

The Mystics of Spain. By E. Allison Peers. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 9s. 6d. net.

In the new series, 'Ethical and Religious Classics of the East and West', it was inevitable that the mystics of Spain should find a place; equally inevitable that the task of presenting them should be entrusted to Professor Allison Peers.

This volume, whose small bulk belies the wealth of its contents, consists of extracts from the writings of fifteen Spanish mystics, together with an invaluable Introduction, in which Professor Peers sums up the achievement of Spain's Golden Age of devotional literature.

The anthology, ranging in time from Ramon Lull to St. John of the Cross, can leave the reader in no doubt as to the greatness of the Spanish mystics and their importance as pioneers in the worshipper's approach to God, or to the justice of Juan de Los Angeles' assertion that while the Spanish soldiers and sailors were winning the New World for Spain, the mystics were equally successful in 'exploring God's Indies'.

In reading these selections one cannot but be struck by the combination of practical advice on prayer and meditation, and impassioned declarations of the mystics' love of God. There is at all times a clear objective reality in their thinking, which many will hardly allow to the mystics—as though they saw profound religious truths through the clear bracing air of their native Castile.

Valuable instruction in the lower reaches of prayer are to be found in the comparatively unknown writer, Bernardino de Laredo, who describes 'the blessed upraising of the soul', as well as in Francisco de Osuna, whose 'Three Ways of Prayer', and 'Three Ways of Silence' make the mystic ladder appear but divine commonsense. Peter de Alcantara discriminates between Meditation and Contemplation, and Juan de Los Angeles brings his authority to bear upon Ejaculatory Prayer. St Ignatius, as one would expect, is here too, with the very groundwork of the devotional life, in his 'Spiritual Exercises'.

Other writers are full of the poetry of devotion: Ramon Lull with his erotic dialogues, Luis de Granada with his Prayer for Union, and Diego de Estella in his 'How Love bears us to God as to our Centre'. But those who like to sense the very throb of the devout Spanish mind in the Presence, will doubtless prefer to return to Luis de Leon's poem, 'The Heavenly Life and the Prince of Peace' with its marvellous meditation on the starry sky and Christ, the Prince of Peace; to Santa Teresa's charming parables of the Silk Worm and the Watered Garden; and, not least, to St John of the Cross's rapturous search for God through the Dark Night of the Soul.

There is enough here, and of the most varied quality to whet the reader's appetite for more, and to that end, Professor Peers has prefaced each selection with a terse guide to bigger books both in English and in Spanish. It is inconceivable that any one who has followed the divine knight errantry of the Spanish mystics as far as this little book can take them, should not desire to go further.

C. R. Walker

Life in the Spirit. By C. E. Lambert. Pp. 74. S.P.C.K., 1951. 4s. 6d.

At a time when many are obsessed with the urge to translate the Christian religion into terms understood by the modern mind, it is with a sense of relief that one meets this little book of addresses delivered by the former Archdeacon of Hampstead in a Retreat for the Missioners who took part in the London Mission of 1949. Mr Lambert's religion is soaked in the language and images of the

Bible, the Creeds and the collects of the Book of Common Prayer. And what a wonderfully rich and real religion it is! Here are no shafts of controversy, nothing to satisfy those who spend their time in nothing else but either to tell or hear some new thing; but much true religion and undefiled. With the aid of Dr Swete the teaching of the Bible about the Holy Spirit is fully expounded and applied to the life of a Christian today. With quiet skill we are shown the place of the Holy Spirit in our repentance, in our prayers (especially intercessions), in our worship, in the preparation of sermons.

Great profit may be had from a persuasive reminder of those things which we once half-knew, failed to make our own and for practical purposes long ago forgot. Mr Lambert brings home to us the riches of the Biblical teaching on the Holy Spirit with a 'serene and scholarly piety'. Though he is generally content with traditional interpretations, the fact that he is nevertheless seldom pedestrian is a measure of the personal religion which shines through these addresses. Whether he is commenting—as he loves to do—on the meaning of some Biblical word—like Paraclete or *εὐλάβεια* or defining the work of the Spirit in Baptism and Confirmation, he is never trite, always practical, always uplifting. In four short meditations on the seven gifts of the Spirit, he shows how the Holy Spirit permeates every human faculty, conferring upon each its appropriate fulness. He is never tired of illustrating his theme from the life of Our Lord, the true Man, the second Adam.

Here is one example of his style. He selects the spirit of counsel 'as specially relevant to any evangelistic enterprise' because 'It teaches us to distinguish higher and lower ways of serving God: how to deal wisely with others: how to present religious truth to them in their particular context, the true line of approach; it is the wise teacher's gift. It is the source of spiritual tact indicating how to bring influence to bear healthily upon others' (p. 63).

No one who loves the Scriptures could read these addresses without deriving spiritual enrichment from them.

R. K. Wimbush

Towards a Christian Civilisation. A draft issued by the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece. 'Damascus' Publications, Athens, 1950.

Aktines. Organ of the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece. Approx. monthly. Athens. Per copy, drch. 3,000.

This production is rightly called remarkable—not perhaps because of its novelty, but because of its source and origin. If anyone in the

Churches of the West feels that a great gulf separates him from the Church of the Orthodox Christians, not only in doctrine, but in ethos and practice, this volume will call for the revision of this opinion. It is the work of 'people who are the children of this suffering generation', who have 'lived in themselves the drama of the modern man'. They are 'workers in scientific research and in the field of letters in Greece', and their aim is to 'declare publicly as well as privately, our conviction regarding the direction which the Greek people must follow in respect to the great and basic problems of life, so that they may be able to overcome the difficulties of these times and achieve both the spiritual and the natural regeneration of the Nation'. It is an essay drafted by 'the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece', at one point referred to as 'undersigned', but whose names do not in fact appear. The book is very wide in scope, and deals with Christian principles, and their application to apparently every field of human and social life and activity. A double impression is likely to be made on Western readers—of pleasure that laymen should so manfully, thoroughly, and successfully deal with questions so complicated, and of surprise that the situation revealed in Greece resembles so closely the one in which we find ourselves. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate, if demonstration were needed, Romain Rolland's *obiter dictum* that 'the world has become one'; and even if we be 'not yet fit for this great destiny' here is a most resolute attempt to make us more fit than we were.

The thesis of the book is familiar, that in a world confused and divided, Christianity, despite its admitted failures, has a part to play for its salvation, and Christians must both *interpret* their faith, and also *spread it abroad* by direct communication. 'Leaven' and 'propagation' are 'like the oars of a boat, which must be pulled together, so that the boat may advance on a straight line'.

Beyond this resumé, it is difficult to go; for this book defies summary, because of the multiplicity of matters with which it deals—*nil humanum alienum* to these writers. The alliance of early Christianity with Greek Philosophy is noticed favourably: 'they found out they had nothing to lose if they worked together'. The mistake Christianity made was not in borrowing but in failing to implement. It invested itself in the forms of Greek Philosophy, but failed to achieve the Socratic ἀνὴρ καλὸς κἀγαθός. Yet Christianity is not distinguished by its 'Utopian ideal'; rather 'it gives rules for life and, what is more, it gives us power to apply these rules'. Without a firm grasp on this essential, Christianity easily slipped into the role which Marx accords to it of being an 'opiate of the people'. It made a fatal alliance with the Constantinian state, and became first the tyrant of the people, and then 'a means for the Caesars to have ready-made slaves'.

So, 'the demand of our time is for a living Christianity. Our generation knows this in the depths of its soul; nothing but Christianity can save us, but this has to be a Christianity quite different from the sort which modern man sees around him or even in him.' 'Christianity must win the battle of the deep, if it is to bring forth the fruit which is called life.' Not that it can expect that all will become Christian; Christianity is always 'the little flock'. But this Christian minority has to offer the world not a book, but a life; not only men to preach, but men to 'fight the good fight'.

There is no thought here of separatism from the world. 'Football is part of a Christian regulated life, in the same way as prayer is', and whether he works in the farm, or looks after his patient in hospital, whether he taps his typewriter or hammers his chisel like others, he does all these things within the scope of a fully Christian life, nor must there be any capitulation to modernism: the 'cut-down' Gospel has not even successful results to recommend it.

The Christianity which the day requires cannot afford to be without theology, but it must be an 'anthropologic theology', presenting the faith and making effective in modern life the deposit of eternal truth.

Most of this is familiar enough, and the interest which it has for those in the West who read it lies in the fact that it is the Greek Orthodox Church which says it. It is indeed a little difficult to trace the order followed by this book, and, if the points noted now appear disconnected, this only reflects the character of the volume itself. One important means in which the Church must make itself effective to modern man is by 'bringing the Bible to him'—an 'extensive and continuous study of the Bible, . . . done in humiliation, in fear of God, . . . for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, etc.' (2 Tim. 3.16 f). Another is tradition—which seems here to mean little more than the Church being not forgetful of 'the golden chain of her heroes, when dealing with the problems of modern times'. A third is liturgy which 'must speak to modern man' educatively. 'Greek Orthodox worship [must] not become an appendage to a Byzantine museum, with the sole purpose of preserving the Byzantine era into our days.' Organic communication with the Byzantine tradition must be combined with a sympathetic regard for the needs of today. Here the longing of Christians to be united is noted, and Christians are exalted to take 'one more step' towards it. 'Perhaps the only thing which will come out of all the campaigns against Christianity will be the fact that the distance separating Christians has become smaller.'

The Orthodox Church is not conservative in the sense of thinking that all is well in Christianity; nor is it fanatical when it declines to affirm that A = B just to please someone. Christianity believes in 'progress as the pursuit of the values of civilisation'.

Some wise things are said about the modern sex problem. It is deplored that Christian writers have so often seen the matter 'under the form of its misdemeanours, and the state of sin incurred has been extended over the natural sexual life'. It is contended with justice that people today are exposed to quite artificial stimuli by modern civilisation, and this sort of aphrodisiac produces an unnatural attitude to the whole matter.

The writers believe that science is liberating itself from materialism, and that the Christian man of science can appear also as a builder of Christian civilisation; that there is no inevitable progress in history; and, in terms with which we are familiar, that the development of 'technique' (that is technics) tends to make man 'the slave of the age his own intelligence has conceived'. The place of women in society and the Church comes under review, and it is stated that 'it is known nowadays that the turn of contemporary man towards Christianity is mainly the result of woman's efforts'.

Christianity has influenced natural law in such a way that, if it be now removed, its place would not be taken by *fas*. 'If civilisation is to exist, the legislator should recognise the value of the free subjection of human personality to the health-giving regimen of Christian faith.'

Mechanistic Socialism (from which Great Britain is held to be exempted) is condemned because of the 'police state' required to enforce it. A basic misunderstanding in Socialism is that the masses are encouraged to believe that 'the factory will be mine', or 'the manager's motor car will be mine', whereas, in fact, these things will be simply taken over by the State. Socialism's major weapon is indignation at Capitalism, but it is itself discredited by the tyrants it has raised up. 'Mankind is now standing before this despair, which is a proof of negation. That is why mankind is now turning in agony towards Christianity.'

But there is a right Christian Socialism, one that includes elements contributed by Christians: a *just* distribution of goods, and the recognition of *personality*. 'Christianity is not, and cannot be a kind of Socialism. But Socialism can exist only within the Christian spiritual surroundings.' Social Christianity can alone provide the Archimedean fulcrum required.

The Christian synthesis consists in a more productive output coupled with a fair distribution. It reiterates responsibility as a necessary correlate of property and recognises (as even the Romans did, e.g. in the case of the Appian Way) that the nationalisation of certain means of production is beneficial.

At the same time, though Christianity should remain non-party and non-political, the organ of this group of thinkers, *Aktines*, never advocates the withdrawal of Christians from the parties that exist. 'A fight needs fighters'; and the call of Christians is that they 'fight the good fight'.

Perhaps this does something to bring to the notice of Western Christians a movement of real power. A genuine movement of the Spirit seems to be quickening the Orthodox Church into active life, and awakening that social concern to which they have traditionally laid claim. It is of the greatest theological importance that this lay Zoë movement should be at work. *Aktines*, appearing at roughly monthly intervals (Professor Butterfield and Princess Wilhelmina of the Netherlands have been recent contributors), transmits to a wider public this stimulus to Christian thought and life. The articles are written in modern Greek, often *δημοτική* rather than *καθαρεύουσα*, and hence not easy reading.

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NEW TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY

by The Rev. C. K. BARRETT

II. The Gospels

I

The ministry of Jesus is represented by the evangelists as itself an eschatological event. This presentation involved them (writing as they did from thirty to seventy years after the event) in paradox, but the paradox is of the essence of their faith.

It is a primary feature of the gospels that the story of Jesus is set forth as the fulfilment of OT prophecy. This is sometimes done in the crudest and most artificial manner, as for example when Jeremiah's picture of Rachel weeping for her children (Jer. 31.14 (38.15)) is applied to the massacre of the innocents (Matt. 2.17 f). Sometimes again the appeal to the OT is made in general terms without citation of a particular passage (e.g. Mark 14.21 *ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ*).[1] The passion narratives in particular are marked by OT references and allusions, but the whole ministry is introduced by Mark (1.15) with the proclamation, *πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός*, and the *καιρός* in question is evidently the time foretold (or currently believed to have been foretold) by the prophets. That which in the past they had longed to see and hear, and had not seen and heard, was now before men, visible and audible: blessed indeed were those who could see and hear (Matt. 13.16 f; Luke 10.23 f). The parable of the Wicked Husbandmen[2] (Mark 12.1-12 and parallels) represents the mission of Jesus as the culmination of the work of God's servants the prophets; as the Son He is not simply one of them, but His work completes theirs and brings it to its climax. Similarly in Mark 2.23-28, 7.6, 9.4 (with the parallels) OT characters are introduced in such a way as to represent Jesus as the consummator of their work. Mark 2.25 f is particularly significant here because David was the ancestor and type of the Messiah. In the broad outline of His work, then, and sometimes in matters of detail (e.g. Mark 11.1-10 and parallels), Jesus appears to act in such a way as to fulfil the prophecies of the OT; that is to say, His ministry is represented by the evangelists as in some sense that final term of history which completes and gives meaning to the whole, though they knew full well that it had not proved to be the end of history in a chronological sense.

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[1] This fact suggests that the conviction that the events in the life of Jesus must have been prophesied somewhere in the OT arose first, and that precise connexions between the events and OT passages were made subsequently. This in turn suggests that, in general, the gospel events were not simply manufactured out of OT material—though this may have been the origin of some of them.

[2] As it now stands. Whether the parable is now in its original form is disputed. See V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London, 1952) p. 472 f, and the references there given.

This impression is confirmed by what may be called the sayings and parables of crisis. The moment of Jesus's ministry was decisive in the affairs of men. In Matt. 23.35 f (Luke 11.50 f) it is said that all righteous blood shed in the past from the beginning of the world (the blood of Abel) will be required of 'this generation'; it is clear from the context that this means not merely that 'judgment day' will fall within this generation, but that this generation will commit an unparalleled sin, rejecting God and denying its own destiny in a way unprecedented even in the history of Israel. What this sin was appears in Matt. 11.20-24 (Luke 10.13-15; 12); even those cities which witnessed the mighty works of Jesus did not repent and accept the message God sent them by Him, and this although in His ministry there was present something greater (πλεῖον, neuter) than in the greatest days of Israel's past (Matt. 12.41 f; Luke 11.31 f; cf. Matt. 12.6). In rejecting Him and His works they committed an eternal and unforgivable sin (Mark 3.29; Matt. 12.32; Luke 12.10). It is to be noted that though in these passages judgment day remains in the future (though a near future—within this generation—is suggested) its decisions are already being determined and formulated in men's response to Jesus. Their failure to respond positively can be readily understood; the moment demanded great sacrifices, a willingness to follow as far as the cross (Mark 8.34-38 and parallels; cf. Mark 9.43-48, where the partial parallel in Matt. 5.29 f, which moralises the challenge, should be discounted). On the other hand, though sacrifice might be called for, the present was a unique time of rejoicing (Mark 2.18-20 and parallels). Many of the parables are charged with the same theme. In Luke 13.6-9, for example, the main point is that the fig tree has one more chance; its year of respite gives it one more opportunity to bear fruit; there will be no other. So, in the ministry of Jesus, Israel was offered one last opportunity to fulfil its vocation. In some of the parables the point has been overlaid by later interpretations. For example, in the parable of the Unrighteous Steward (Luke 16.1-12) the original 'moral', concealed by later moralising in vv. 9 f, appears quite simply in v. 8, *φρονίμως ἐποίησεν*: in a critical situation he acted wisely and promptly —let the sons of light take notice! A similar process can be detected by comparing Luke 12.58 f with Matt. 5.25 f. The Church, which continued to live in an (outwardly) unchanged world, lost the sense of urgency which had marked the ministry of Jesus; after all, the ministry had, when Matthew and Luke were written, long ended and no judgment day had come (we shall return to this point; see below, p. 236). But notwithstanding this blunting of the sharp point of crisis and challenge the gospel material makes abundantly clear that Jesus required of His contemporaries a decision which should affect not only their own destiny but also that of the whole race.

So far then the ministry of Jesus appears as the eschatological event, the decisive moment of God's intervention and judgment which should give value and meaning to the whole of history; a substitute for, or at least an anticipation of, a chronological 'end'. Yet the ministry was not a moment of time; it had duration, and it looked forward to a future beyond itself. Here a text of cardinal importance is Mark 9.1 (and parallels). This points to a future coming of the kingdom of God in power,[1] and also states that this coming will not be far distant; it will take place within the lifetime of some at least of those who were then listening to Jesus. There is no reason at all to suppose that Mark himself was not expecting the coming of Jesus in glory, and the full establishment of the kingdom, to happen and to happen soon; indeed it is probable that Nero's persecution and the onset of the Jewish War had sharpened the Christian hope of a speedy end. This is confirmed by the apocalypse in Mark 13. Here Christians are bidden to watch constantly and carefully for the signs of the end (vv. 33, 37) and it is re-affirmed that *οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη μέχρις οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται* (v. 30). It is *this* generation which is warned to beware of being led astray, and of persecution; *they* must endure to the end (*εἰς τέλος*, v. 13), and *they* will see (*ἴδητε*, v. 14) the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not. This impression of a speedy climax is nowhere contradicted; passages which have been alleged to do so have been misinterpreted. V. 7 (*οὔπω τὸ τέλος*) is to be taken with v. 8 (*ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα*)—the final period will consist of several stages and have a definite duration, a beginning and an end. V. 10 does not imply the universal mission of the Church as this is understood today. Cf. Rom. 15.19-23; Paul has already *πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* as far as Illyricum, and has no longer any *τόπος* in the East[1]; that is, by *c.* A.D. 56 the Gospel had already been preached to all the *ἔθνη* at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and Paul himself was proposing to deal with the West (Rom. 15.23 f). V. 27 must be interpreted similarly; when the parousia happens there will be (small) groups of *ἐκλεκτοί* all over the world. Vv. 32, 35 imply no long future prospect; within the general proximity of the End no one knows its precise date. The apocalypse in Luke 17.22-37 reveals similar convictions, and in many places[2] the gospels point to a future, but not far distant, consummation in which the train of events set in motion by the ministry of Jesus will be brought to a full close.

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[1] See the general discussion of the kingdom of God (below, pp. 229-31) and in particular the literature cited in p. 231, n. 1. The perfect participle *ἐληλυθυῖαν* certainly refers to a coming which takes place before the action of the verb *ἴδωσιν* —they will see the kingdom 'in a state of having come'. But the grammar does not require that the coming should be before the time when Jesus was speaking.

At this point, however, it must be asked whether this interest in the future 'day of the Son of man' as heavenly complement to His earthly ministry is due to the Church or goes back to Jesus Himself. It is not difficult to discern a progressive systematisation of the Christian hope when the gospel tradition is reviewed as a whole. In its final stages, a neat, orderly series of events, some past, others still future, appears: the earthly ministry of Jesus, His death, His resurrection and the appearances to the chosen witnesses, His ascension, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the mission of the Church, and finally the return of Christ in glory. But in the earlier stages, obscured for us as they are by the later, the position is by no means so clear. Unless our sources are completely unreliable Jesus did foretell the future; but exactly what did He predict? That He predicted suffering for Himself seems very probable; not only are the prophecies deeply embedded in the sources, but 'it needed, not supernatural prescience, but the ordinary insight of an intelligent person, to see whither things were tending, at least during the later stages of the ministry'.[1] We need not deny Jesus this intelligent foresight. The prophecies of the suffering of the Son of man (on the significance and use of this term see below, p. 232) are combined with prophecies of the resurrection, and parallel to but distinct from these sayings are others (e.g. Matt. 10.23; Mark 8.38, 13.26 f, 14.62; Luke 12.40, 17.30) which speak of the parousia of the Son of man in glory. The parousia sayings contain no reference to the passion and resurrection; the passion sayings are never combined with predictions of the parousia but only of the resurrection. This interesting fact is explained by Dr Bultmann (*Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, p. 30 f) on the view that only the parousia sayings belong to the oldest tradition; the sayings about the dying and rising Son of man are *vaticinia ex eventu*. Moreover, the sayings of the former group do not presuppose the preliminary existence on earth of the Son of man; that is to say, Jesus was speaking of the Son of man as another person. This view is rejected by Dr V. Taylor (*The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London, 1952), p. 116 f), who thinks 'that in Mark the parousia sayings are original but are out of focus, that Jesus undoubtedly prophesied His suffering and death, but spoke of His return in terms less explicit and apocalyptic than 8.38 and 13.26 would suggest' (op. cit., p. 117). We have here two neat solutions of the problem; it might be said that each is perhaps a little too neat. Probably both the parousia and the resurrection sayings are out of focus; this is to be expected since both are refracted through the experience and theology of the primitive Church.[2] It is impossible here to discuss the whole question in detail, but two observations may be made. (*a*) The events at and immediately after the crucifixion seem to have taken the disciples by surprise; it does not appear that they had been led to expect death followed by resurrection after a short but perceptible interval.[1] (*b*) The parousia sayings, though not so closely connected with passion sayings as are the predictions of resurrection, occur in contexts which mention or presuppose suffering. In Mark 8.38, 13.26 the sufferings of the disciples are in mind; 14.62 is set actually within the passion narrative—the Woes have begun and it is not yet clear how far they will extend.[2] All that need be said at this point is that wherever the traditional material is investigated we meet with the conviction (expressed in a bewildering variety of forms) that the process begun with the ministry of Jesus, His teaching and His miracles, will move from shame to glory,[3] through suffering to complete and satisfying vindication. That is, the gospels insist upon a complex eschatological crisis in which all these elements are equally vital; there is a decisive 'now' and a decisive 'then'.

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[1] See J. Munck, *Bulletin of the S.N.T.S.* i (Oxford, 1950), p. 31.

[2] Note for example the use of *ἡμέρα* (Matt. 7.22, 10.15, 11.22, 24, 12.36, etc.), or *συντέλεια* (Matt. 13.39 f, 49, 24.3, 28.20); or parabolic material such as Luke 12.35-59.

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[1] C. H. Dodd, *Parables*, p. 57. It is probable that the predictions have been affected in detail by the events described in the passion narratives. How far this process has gone it is difficult to say. Some features of the passion narratives themselves (e.g. the Gethsemane story) give rise to serious problems here.

[2] This Dr Taylor recognises: 'both series are coloured by Christian beliefs and hopes' (op. cit., p. 117).

Examination of the central synoptic theme of the kingdom of God (or heaven) confirms this conclusion. We may turn again to Mark 9.1[4] which points forward to a coming of the kingdom in power (ἐν δυνάμει) and thereby suggests an earlier coming of the kingdom which was not, in the full sense, in power. This contrast is amply supported by several of the parables of the kingdom of God which set forth the contrast between small seeds and the large plants, or plentiful harvests, which grow from them, or between the small fragment of yeast hidden in the dough and the whole leavened lump. The kingdom is like a pearl or a treasure, and in this world 'Who chooseth [this] must give and hazard all he hath'; it is received without proof, by a venture of faith. Its presence and activity were of course indicated by the mighty works of Jesus (see especially Matt. 12.28; Luke 11.20), but these signs had markedly little effect; they were in no way compulsive. In the person and work of Jesus the sovereignty of God was obscurely manifested, presented to men in a partial, anticipatory manner, so that it could be received only by faith; only the future would vindicate God's power and man's obedience. It will be seen at once that this presentation of the apocalyptic theme of the kingdom of God corresponds closely with the eschatological teaching of the synoptic gospels in general.

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[1] See *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, p. 155.

[2] It is interesting to compare the observation of L. Cerfaux (*Le Christ dans la Théologie de Saint Paul* (Paris, 1951) especially p. 147f) that Paul uses the 'pairs' parousia-resurrection, and death-resurrection, but not death-parousia.

[3] These words are taken from the Passover Haggadah; cf. Pesahim 10.4 He begins with the disgrace and ends with the glory. That the structure of the Passover celebration, and traditions and interpretations connected with it, influenced the development of Christian eschatology, and Christian thought about the death of Christ, seems very probable, but the subject is too large to discuss here. See J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (second edition, Göttingen, 1949) *passim* but especially pp. 102-24.

[4] See p. 227, n. 1.

The synoptic eschatology is not simple. It is not a circle with one centre, but an ellipse with two foci, neither of which can be ignored without disturbing the picture drawn by the Gospels (or, it may be added, removed by any reasonable critical process). One focus is the eschatological crisis precipitated within the ministry of Jesus; unique signs declared the veiled operation of the rule of God in such a way as to challenge the response of faith, and Jesus Himself in parable and proclamation declared its near approach.[1] The other focus is the eschatological consummation which, within the framework of the ministry, remains a future event. The kingdom of God, which has come near in secret, will come in power; the Son of man, who must suffer many things, will come in glory with the clouds of heaven. The last term in the historical process, the End which determines the meaning of the whole, proves to be a complex event. For this complication there is precedent in the eschatology of late Judaism, most clearly in the apocalypse contained in 4 Ezra 7.26-44, where the course of events is as follows. After a period of woe, the Messiah is revealed, and with the survivors of the Woes rejoices for 400 years. At the end of that time the Messiah and 'all in whom there is human breath' (v. 29) die. 'Then shall the world be turned into the primeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left' (v. 30). After this, the 'Age which is not yet awake shall be roused' (v. 31), and the resurrection and judgment will take place. This scheme is undoubtedly parallel to that of the synoptic gospels, but it is hardly possible to explain the latter by means of it as no more than a parallel development within late Jewish apocalyptic. The gospels differ from 4 Ezra, for example, in that the duration of the 'messianic age' (that is, the period during which the Messiah lives in this world) is greatly compressed, and that in them the Messiah plays no minor role (as in 4 Ezra, where he is merely mentioned along with companions who are almost as significant as he is himself) but occupies a quite central place. Indeed, in the gospels Jesus the Messiah is the key to, and supplies the unity of, the whole eschatological presentation of the Gospel; in His own person He binds together the present and the future crises, and re-interprets by building into a new pattern the eschatological material which is common to the gospels and other sources more or less contemporary with them.

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[1] Whether Jesus used words which meant that the kingdom of God had actually arrived is a debated question. On the words ἤγγικεν (Mark 1.15), ἔφθασεν (Matt. 12.28; Luke 11.20) see C. H. Dodd *Parables*, pp. 43-5; *Expository Times*, xlviii (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 91-4 (J. Y. Campbell), pp. 138-42 (C. H. Dodd), p. 184 f (J. M. Creed). The discussion has recently been reopened by M. Black (*E.T.*, lxiii, p. 289 f). See also W. G. Kümmel, *Verheissung und Erfüllung* (Basel, 1945), pp. 9-13, 63-5, and W. Michaelis, *Der Herr verzieht nicht die Verheissung* (Bern, 1942), pp. 34-43.

It is at this point that the title 'Son of man' may be briefly considered.[1] The synoptic sayings which contain this expression fall into three groups. The first tells of a Son of man who lives a humble human life, but has come to seek and to save the lost and has on earth authority which overrides the Sabbath and enables Him to forgive sins. The second and third groups were noted above (see p. 229); according to the former, the Son of man will suffer, die and rise from the dead; according to the latter He will come with glory on the clouds of heaven. We must first glance at two parts of the important background of the NT Son of man sayings: Daniel and the Similitudes of Enoch.[2] In Dan. 7.13, in a dream-vision, Daniel sees one like a Son of man (כבר אנש) draw near to God and receive dominion and authority. It later appears (7.27) that this human figure (human in comparison with the beasts which appeared in

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[1] In these few lines it is impossible even to raise all the major questions, for example the fundamental question whether 'Son of man' is or is not a title. Discussion of the subject has however reached a very interesting stage, and I hope to return to it elsewhere.

[2] For the best short introduction to this background material see M. Black, *E.T.* lx. 11-15 (cf. 32-6); also T. W. Manson, 'The Son of man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels', *B.J.R.L.* xxxii, pp. 171-93, and M. Black, 'The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch', *J.T.S.* new series iii (Oxford, 1952), pp. 1-10. Other important works are referred to elsewhere, especially in the next few notes.

7.3-7) represents the 'people of the saints of the Most High' who after their sufferings will eventually receive the kingdom from God, and rule in the Age to Come. The Son of man here is beyond question a representative figure; but it should be noted that this does not in itself necessarily deprive him of individuality. In fact his origin is probably[1] to be sought in the very common oriental myth of the representative primal, or heavenly, man, who is at once a semi-divine being and the representative of the human race. This mythology lies behind the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71)[2] also. Concerning the Son of man in the Similitudes the following points must be briefly emphasised. (*a*) At first the Son of man is a hidden being unknown to the world at large (e.g. 48.2 f, 6). His existence is an apocalyptic secret, only revealed through Enoch to the Elect. (*b*) At the end of time, however, he will appear in glory to execute his eschatological functions of judging—that is condemning—sinners (e.g. 62.9-12), and delivering the righteous and conferring upon them everlasting blessedness with himself (e.g. 62.13 f). (*c*) The Son of man is not to be simply identified with the Messiah. It must be remembered that Judaism (especially pre-Christian Judaism) had no precisely formulated messianic theology at all. The OT itself supplied the foundation of a theology of salvation, and this (in the immediately pre-Christian period) was supplemented and expanded in many different ways. The Son of man speculation in 1 Enoch evidently held within itself the possibility of being integrated into Jewish thinking about the Messiah (at 48.10 the Son of man is called the Anointed One[3]), but within the book itself the integration is not complete. (*d*) At the end of the Similitudes Enoch is exalted to heaven and greeted by an angel with the words, 'Thou art the Son of man' (71.14). This identification is not one which can be rationally conceived,

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For the relevant material see W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah*, pp. 174-90 and the references there; add B. Murmelstein, 'Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxxv (1928), pp. 242-75, xxxvi (1929), pp. 51-86.

[2] It is impossible here to discuss the date, integrity, etc., of the Similitudes. The best treatment known to me is that of E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund, 1946). See also the fundamental edition by R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (2nd edition, Oxford, 1912), and *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT* (edited by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913) ii, pp. 163-87.

[3] It is possible, though by no means certain, that these words may be a Christian interpolation.

but it is not for that reason to be removed by emendation.[1] We are obliged by this document to consider *a* man exalted from the conditions of human life to be *the* Man—the heavenly, pre-existent Son of man, ready to perform his eschatological tasks. It is impossible not to regard this as having some bearing on the gospels, to which we now return.

It is evident that there are both parallels and contrasts between the Son of man of the gospels and the Enoch Son of man. Enoch shows that there is no insuperable difficulty in applying all the gospel sayings to one and the same person, at different stages in His career—the Son of man who lives a human life can be identified with the Son of man who comes with the clouds of heaven. One point of difference, however, must be noted here. In Enoch there is no Son of man on earth, but only the Enoch who later will be identified with the Son of man, whereas in the gospels the earthly ministry, in which men are reclaimed from their sin and won for righteousness through the ministry and suffering of the Son of man, is an essential part of His work. Whence is this fresh element derived? It might be suggested that it is already implicit in 1 Enoch, but there is in fact no need to suppose that the Son of man there has already been influenced by the figure of the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah[2]; the gospels go behind Enoch and pick up from Daniel the representative character of the Son of man. As the earthly representative of His people He gathers together a righteous remnant; as the Heavenly Man He comes to judgment. Unlike the Enoch Son of man, who distinguishes the good from the evil and disposes rewards according to merit but never changes the evil into good, Jesus as Son of man dies to redeem not the good from their misfortunes but the wicked from their sin.[3]

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[1] As by R. H. Charles, op. cit., p. 144 f; cf. pp. 306-9.

[2] This is a very large question and cannot be discussed here. See the discussion and references in E. Sjöberg, op, cit., pp. 116-39. Here the simple observation may be emphasised that, whatever parallels may exist between the Son of man and the Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah, the Son of man (in 1 Enoch 37-71) does not in fact suffer.

[3] The collective aspect of the work of the Son of man is emphasised by Dr T. W. Manson, who believes that in the Gospels Jesus and the disciples 'together, so long as they adhere to Him, constitute the "Son of man"' (*Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, XI (Lund, 1947), p. 146). There is indeed a corporate element in the complex Son of man idea, but possibly the *corpus* is not so simple as this view suggests. Dr A. Schweitzer explains Mark 10.45 as shown above (p. 152); after a time Jesus perceived that it would be necessary to bear the messianic affliction

The eschatological portrayal of Jesus as the Son of man thus emphasises the polarity of 'now' and 'then' which was noted in the general eschatological teaching of the Gospels and particularly in their presentation of the kingdom of God,[1] and also introduces a new polarity, that of the 'one' and the 'many'. The one apocalyptic figure of the Son of man becomes the nucleus of an eschatological community.[2]

It is precisely at this point that we may return to the Pauline eschatology where also we have to deal with the one Redeemer, through whom eschatological conditions are brought about, and the Many, the Church, who enter these conditions in the One (*ἐν Χριστῷ*). There are indeed in Paul's theology clear traces of a 'Son of man' doctrine, though Paul has reworded it so that the phrase *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, which must have been offensive to Greek ears, does not occur.[3] The Church was living in an eschatological period, between the former coming of Christ in humility, obscurity and suffering and the latter in glory and power. It continued to be an essential element in Paul's thought that this period could be looked on as a unit of time rather than an indefinite duration. A lifetime[4] would suffice to cover the death, resurrection, exaltation, heavenly session and return of Christ. On the basis of this view and by

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alone. It may be that here too there is undue simplification; that instead of saying 'All were the Son of man, but all fell away except Jesus', and 'At first Jesus believed that all must suffer; later He believed that He would suffer alone', we must say, 'The Son of man is the One and the Many; the One will suffer for the Many and the Many will suffer in the One'. See below, n. 2.

[1] Corresponding to the obscurity and weakness of the kingdom of God we have, where the person of Jesus is concerned, the messianic secret. Dr G. Bornkamm concluded a friendly review of *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition* (*Nuntius Sodalicii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis*, vi (1952), pp. 43-8) with the sentence 'Das Geheimnis seines Messiasbewusstseins ist, wie ich meine, auch durch die Theorie des "Messiasgeheimnisses" nicht wirklich zu lüften.' It seems to me that this is to speak of the messianic secret in the wrong terms. It is not a theory invented by us to explain difficulties in the gospels; it may have been, as Wrede and others have thought, a theory of Mark's, but for us it is a datum of the Gospel tradition; the secret is there, explain it how we may. Here it may be noted that Mark himself must have thought (rightly or wrongly) that 'Son of man' was an expression that kept the secret (as 'Messiah' would not have done), and may well have believed that it expressed both the humility and the glory of Jesus.

[2] In this the Gospels return to a point not far from the original mythical meaning of the term 'Son of man'; see above, pp. 232-4. Jesus the Son of man is the true, representative, primal, heavenly Man.

[3] See among other passages Rom. 5.12-21; 1 Cor. 15.44-49; Phil. 2.5-11; Col. 1.15-20. It may be suggested that in this complex of material, whose roots are eschatological, lies the source of Paul's doctrine of the Church; but the point cannot be pursued here.

[4] Agreeing with Paul are Mark 9.1, 13.30; John 21.22 and other passages.

means of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit he built up a Christian eschatology which maintained an unstable equilibrium until it was upset by the lapse of time. The first generation disappeared and the parousia did not happen. There arose an urgent danger that Christianity might resolve itself into a Chiliasm doomed to perpetual disappointment, or into an un-eschatological—and ultimately unchristian—gnosticism. If the faith was to survive in a recognisable form it was necessary to restate it in such a way that the eschatological tension, which belief in an imminent parousia induced, should be retained without the conviction that the parousia was necessarily imminent.[1] To this task all the later books of the NT made some contribution, and there is further interesting material for investigation in post-Biblical writings, both orthodox and heretical. Here only a few lines can be given to three of the most important contributions, those of Hebrews, Revelation and the Fourth Gospel.

Hebrews mentions the resurrection of Jesus only once (13.20); it emphasises rather His exaltation to heaven, His work there, and His return thence. It thus retains the two characteristic foci of Christian eschatology: final and decisive events have happened; final and decisive events will happen. In Jesus God has now, *ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων*, finally declared Himself (1.2). It is interesting to compare with Matthew's strongly futuristic use of the expression *συντέλεια (τοῦ) αἰῶνος* (13.39, 40, 49, 24.3, 28.20) the statement in Heb. (9.26) that Christ has been manifested *ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*—the looked for consummation is now an event of past history. Those who have become Christians have already partaken of the 'powers of the Age to Come' (6.5). There are also passages where the writer looks to an eschatological future and speaks of it in simple and unambiguous terms. Thus at 9.28 he says that Christ who has already been manifested, and has been offered up as a sacrifice, ἐκ δευτέρου . . . ὀφθήσεται τοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπεκδεχομένοις (cf. 1 Thess. 1.10). For those who fall into wilful sin after they have once received knowledge of the truth there remains nothing but φοβερά τις ἐκδοχὴ κρίσεως (10.27). But most characteristic of Hebrews are those passages where these two themes are combined, and those where the eternal duration and efficacy of the work of Christ in heaven is emphasised. Christ continues a high-priest for ever (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, 7.3; cf. 7.24); He waits in heaven, perpetually (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές) seated at the right hand of God, until His enemies become His footstool (10.12 f). 2.1-4 is a striking passage which brings out the author's characteristic combination of the two eschatological themes. Transgression of the word spoken by angels received due punishment; how then shall they escape who neglect a salvation, attested by the prophets, proclaimed by the Lord and continually operative in the apostolic Church? Salvation is rooted in the past and neglect of it in the present results in future judgment. So far, then, Hebrews stands within the general eschatological tradition of early Christianity; but its special contribution to the development of Christian theology lies in the introduction of what have been called 'Platonic'[1] ideas. The Levitical sacrificial rites are not so much allegorised as treated as the earthly counterparts of a heavenly sacrificial worship by means of which men are cleansed not externally but in their conscience, and are united to God for ever. The effect of this is to set forth the sacrifice of the cross as taking place not only on the border line between This Age and the Age to Come, but also on the border line between this visible world and the world of unseen and eternal truth. The result is pregnantly expressed in 11.1; the Christian faith has to do with both the 'not yet' (ἐλπιζόμενα) and the 'not seen' (οὐ βλεπόμενα).[2] To this faith the heroes of old time pointed forward but it has been reserved in its fulness for those who can realise both the future and the unseen in Jesus. In this way the Christian life is kept in tension with the eternal, with that which is beyond human experience, without reference to an imminent parousia.

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[1] See *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series i (Oxford, 1950), pp. 1-3. We touch here the important problem discussed by Dr O. Cullmann in *Theologische Zeitschrift*, iii (Basel, 1947) pp. 177-91, under the title 'Das wahre durch die ausgebliebene Parusie gestellte neutestamentliche Problem'. See for the debate on this point an article by F. Buri (referred to by Dr Cullmann but not accessible to me) and M. Werner, op. cit.; also W. Michaelis, *Der Herr verzieht nicht die Verheissung* (Bern, 1942). Perhaps the last word on this subject has not yet been said. Dr Cullmann seems to state very clearly (op. cit., p. 177) the problem as it now presents itself to the twentieth century Christian theologian and historian, but less clearly the problem that must have confronted the Christian theologian of the first century who watched the apostles die but saw none of the signs of the parousia. To the literature should now be added G. Bornkamm, 'Die Verzögerung der Parusie', in *In Memoriam E. Lohmeyer* (Ed. W. Schmauch, Stuttgart, 1951) pp. 116-26.

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[1] The origin of the 'idealism' of Hebrews is seen in a new light when the observation of p. 139, n. 1 is kept in mind.

[2] This observation is independent of the precise meaning of the very obscure words ὑπόστασις and ἔλεγχος.

Revelation lays so great a stress upon the parousia and its nearness (22.20 ἔρχομαι ταχύ) that it might seem foolish to refer to it at this point. In fact, however, it makes one great contribution to the problem in hand, though this contribution must here be mentioned summarily. Many scholars[1] now agree that behind those visions where angelic companies join in the praise of God there lies the liturgical practice of the primitive Church. Into the details of this view we cannot go, but it is to be noted that, if it is justified, it shows us an earthly community acting in concert with a heavenly; in its worship the Church retains and renews the tension originally formulated in the hope of a speedy parousia; Revelation itself preserved this hope, but it also helped to make possible a Christian faith without it.

The author of Hebrews used semi-philosophical, the Apocalyptist liturgical, means to re-express the eschatological faith of primitive Christianity; both these means were used by the fourth evangelist,[2] but primarily he worked within the terms of the primitive tradition, developing it not from without but from within. This is perhaps why his work remains the outstanding contribution to the subject. No other NT writer expresses so forcibly the inadequacy of eschatology as a vehicle for expressing the whole content of the Gospel; he states the inevitable paradox bluntly and without explanation—the hour cometh and now is (4.23, 5.25). Yet he also chooses (when it is not necessary) to employ eschatological language for what is not in any strict sense eschatological. In 14.23 there appears at first sight to be a reference in the traditional manner to the parousia, a 'coming' of Jesus; but closer examination reveals at once that no such thing is in mind. John speaks of a coming of the Father and the Son, in fact of the basic Christian experience of communion with God and Christ. John carries further the same method in his doctrine of the Paraclete[3] (14.15-17, 26, 15.26, 16.7-15), his main contribution to this subject. The work of the Paraclete comprises the work of God *upon* the Church, and the work of God *within* the Church; He communicates the truth (already revealed in Jesus) to the Church and through the Church to the world. In this process the Paraclete assumes functions which elsewhere are regarded as proper to God (or the Messiah, or the Son of man) on the day of judgment. He convicts, or exposes (*ἐλέγχειν*, 16.8-11), the world concerning sin, righteousness and judgment. He performs these functions however not to the exclusion of a true eschatological future, but by bringing that future to bear directly upon each moment of the present—*τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν* (16.13). The future is real and vital, but it need not be near, since it is applied to the Church and the world by the Spirit.

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[1] See E. F. Scott, *The Book of Revelation* (London, 1939), pp. 138-42; O. Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst* (second ed., Zürich, 1950), p. 11 f, and elsewhere.

[2] See in more detail *E.T.*, lix, pp. 302-5. I may also be allowed to refer to a commentary on the Fourth Gospel which will I hope be published before long.

[3] See further *J.T.S.*, new series i (Oxford, 1950) pp. 8-15.

With the Fourth Gospel the development of Christian eschatology reaches its end; thereafter there remain only rediscoveries and reinterpretations.

II

Eschatology is primarily a branch of theology; that is to say, it is a way of speaking about God. It presupposes, and expresses, a doctrine of God. Biblical eschatology (if the beliefs of Christians are true) is not merely man's speech about God but God's own speech about Himself to man. It reveals God as He is, not as man thinks He is, or would like Him to be—though perhaps there are few forms of theological thought where there is more scope for human dogmatism (of various kinds) to obscure the revealed truth. The fearful reaction of sinful man to the living God is on the one hand to hide himself, and on the other to confine God so far as may be within limits, and so create a 'safe' area of existence. Man's final hiding place is religion; he thinks he can conceal himself behind a carefully executed ritual, or wrap round himself a cloak of righteousness achieved by exact conformity to a code of moral commands. He has various ways of restricting God's movement. His activity may be confined within the past, within a liturgy, or within a book. All these expedients are shattered by Biblical theology. God cannot be handled in this way. The first word of eschatology is judgment: We shall all stand before the judgment seat of God (Rom. 14.10); man cannot hide himself. Moreover, God's work is not yet finished. Whatever He may have done or spoken in the past He has yet a final act to perform and a last word to speak. This conviction, that God has yet greater things to do than the great things He has already done for us, that He is the God of the future as well as the past, is supplemented in NT eschatology by the equally strong conviction that God is no more confined to the future than He is to the past, and that, being free at all times, He has acted as decisively, and as revealingly, in the mid-course of history as He will do at its end; or, in other words, that the end of history, and with it God's unique and conclusive action which declares not only His own character but also the meaning of all history, has already begun.

This was a belief sufficiently paradoxical in A.D. 53. It is still more difficult in A.D. 1953. The 'end of history' has now occupied a substantial proportion of the known history of our race. Of its final consummation it is still true that no one knows the day or the hour. The mere lapse of time has posed for us a searching historical and theological question. As Loisy put it, Jesus 'avait annoncé le Royaume de Dieu et c'est l'Église qui est venue'.[1] Instead of the perfect, heavenly, supernatural kingdom, we see the Church, imperfect, composed of earthly sinful men, subject to the flux of time, now wealthy, popular and strong, now 'minished and brought low'. Was Jesus mistaken in His proclamation? Can it still be believed that we live in an interim period, the beginning of the 'end'? There are aspects of the former question which cannot be discussed here; it must suffice to say that the words and deeds of Jesus must be treated as a unity. The continuity between Jesus and the primitive Church does not rest so much upon an accurate preservation of His sayings as upon the factual results of what He did, both in His earthly life and in His resurrection. We have already shown that NT writers were themselves aware of the latter question, and given a brief indication of their answer to it. It may be approached once more by glancing first at two primary Christian institutions, the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist.

The origins of Christian baptism are veiled in an obscurity which will probably never now be penetrated. No dominical

[1] See M. Goguel, *La Naissance du Christianisme* (Paris, 1946), p. 15 f; A. Loisy, *The Gospel and the Church* (*E.T.*, London, 1903), p. 166.

command to baptize can be found that will satisfy critical inquiry.[1] It seems probable that after the death of John the Baptist his baptising movement was continued (cf. John 3.22, 4.1 f), and was still practised by the first Christians after the resurrection. There was no reason why the rite should cease. It was intended to prepare a purified Israel against the time of judgment.[2] The judgment was still expected, and expected soon; it was more urgently necessary than ever to collect and unite a body of penitents. Nothing could have been more natural than to baptise those who repented and believed. But though the judgment was still to come (as the Baptist had taught) the eschatological position as a whole was not the same. The ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus had meant the partial realisation of eschatological conditions; in particular the Holy Spirit had been given and the disciples of Jesus had thereby been constituted the Israel of the New Age, the Church. Baptism came in consequence to be not merely a rite for the remission of sins; it was accompanied by the gift of the Spirit and effected admission to the company of saints; it was an eschatological rite involving for each neophyte a recapitulation of what had been done in the past in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and a sure and vivid hope of security in the future. Because baptism was thus a vehicle of the eschatological activity of God it was no mere symbol but a sacrament. The way was open for Paul to describe it as a dying and rising with Christ (Rom. 6.1-11; Col. 2.12), and, more significant still (for death and resurrection are of the native speech of Judaism), for John to declare that 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God' (John 3.5). In the Fourth Gospel the language of both gnosticism and the mysteries is impressed to help out the language of eschatology, a linguistic framework which groaned under the strain which the unprecedented and unexpected events of the crucifixion and resurrection had placed upon it.

Very similar remarks may be made about the eucharist. The feature common to all the narratives of the last supper and of the institution of the eucharist (and to the discourse on the Bread of Life contained in John 6) is eschatology. Those who eat the bread and drink the wine are incorporated into the suffering and glorified body of Jesus, and at the same time proclaim, until His return, their hope to share in the banquet of the consummated kingdom of God. Here also, though more slowly, the Church proceeded to make use of the sacramental language of antiquity.

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[1] The most that can be said is that 'certain facts in early Christian history are most adequately accounted for, if Jesus did by some means convey to his disciples his intention that the entry into the community of his followers should be accomplished outwardly by the rite of water-baptism' (W. F. Flemington, *The NT Doctrine of Baptism* (London, 1948), p. 128). But this probably goes too far.

[2] *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, pp. 26-34.

The freedom of the NT writers in adopting the gnostic and sacramental language of Hellenistic and oriental religion, which for the most part orthodox Judaism rigidly eschewed, may serve as a final parable of the paradoxical eschatological position of the Church. NT eschatology means the complete freedom of God, in grace and righteousness. This freedom is the foundation and pattern of the Gospel, and it is shared by the Church, which in turn derives its pattern from the Gospel. The Church shares God's freedom, but possesses it only on the same terms and under the same conditions as Christ Himself; it shares also the weakness and obscurity, the utterly precarious existence, the death sentence, of His incarnate body. And if it denies its weakness and suffering, it denies its relation with God altogether. The ministry of Jesus was a secret ministry in order that the human response to it might be faith; in the same way the Church is unable to convince men by its own power and wisdom that it is the people of God, and so far as it attempts to do so it ceases to be the Church. The Son of man came as a servant, 'not to be ministered unto but to minister' (Mark 10.45); the Church equally is the servant of God, and if it loses the *forma servi* it ceases to be the Church. The Messiah beyond all others experienced the 'travail pains of the Messiah', the messianic affliction; the Church in the world has tribulation (John 16.33), and so helps to make up the full total of the afflictions of Christ (Col. 1.24). From time to time in the ministry of Jesus the kingdom of God broke visibly into human affairs in the miracles; in the active Word by which it is created and renewed, and in the sacraments,[1] the Church also has signs of its life in God. Jesus looked forward to a baptism with which He must be baptised, and to a vindicating act of God's grace; the Church also, living now in the 'day of salvation' (2 Cor. 6.2), God's present, between His past and His future, looks forward to the judgment, and to the finished work of redemption, when God shall be all in all (1 Cor. 15.28).

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[1] See an important article, 'Wunder und Sakrament in Neuen Testament', by P. H. Menoud, in *Th. Z.*, viii, pp. 161-83; also G. Fitzer, 'Sakrament und Wunder im Neuen Testament', in *In Memoriam E. Lohmeyer*, pp. 169-88.

PREDESTINATION

by The Rev. JOHN NELSON

A Study of Luther's 'Bondage of the Will',[1] a treatise written in 1525 as a reply to the 'Diatribe on Free-will' of Erasmus.

The classical discussion of the doctrine of Predestination and the problem of Free-will is still to be found in Luther's book, the *Bondage of the Will.* In the course of four hundred pages he ranges through profound Biblical exegesis, trenchant theological statement, narrow scholastic argument, virulent vituperation—developing, through it all, the most powerful exposition of the doctrine ever made. The question naturally arises: How far can we, in our generation, go with him? The following paragraphs suggest the main points involved, and discuss the modifications of his position that would seem to be necessary.

Speculation and Confession

The initial point where Luther joins issue with Erasmus is on the unlawfulness of human speculation before the final mysteries of the Faith, and the need to put the hand upon the mouth at that point, and simply confess. Erasmus has argued that certain Christian doctrines are ambiguous, and should therefore be rejected in the interests of a more rational theology. Luther quotes Erasmus as follows and replies:

> In like manner, your examples which you subjoin, not without suspicion and bitterness, are nothing at all to the purpose. Such are those concerning the distinction of Persons, the union of the divine and human natures, the unpardonable sin, the ambiguity attached to which, you say has never been cleared up. If you mean the questions of Sophists that have been agitated upon these subjects, well. But what has the all-innocent Scripture done to you, that you impute the abuse of the most wicked of men to its purity? The Scripture simply *confesses* the Trinity of God, the humanity of Christ, and the unpardonable sin. There is nothing here of obscurity or ambiguity. But *how* these things are the Scripture does not say, nor is it necessary to be known. (Sect. 4.)

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[1] Cole's English translation of 1823, republished in 1931 by the Sovereign Grace Union. All references are to the sections as numbered in this edition.

Luther here establishes a fundamental point. The Church is not bound to meet argument with argument, particularly if the contestant is indulging in sheer speculation in opposition to clear Biblical teaching. Her concern is not with 'Why' or 'How' but with 'What'. Her task is to declare the mighty facts and acts of God. The Scripture—and therefore the Church—simply confesses.

The reader would naturally assume that Luther is here stating a universal principle which defines once and for all the unique revelationary character of Christian truth, and would expect the function of reason to be defined as something other than speculation upon divine truth—but here arises one of the fundamental illogicalities of Luther. Having made the above clear statement about the confessional character of Biblical truth, he refuses to allow that the paradox of predestination and free-will should be placed within this category where the exercise of reason is presumption, and cannot but involve unwarranted speculation if a solution to the paradox is pressed for.

It is this quite arbitrary selection of doctrines that are to be confessed without speculation, and doctrines which are to be discussed and reconciled where they are paradoxical, that leads Luther into 400 pages of controversy with Erasmus. Had he set the doctrine of predestination and that of human responsibility (which is what Erasmus is *really* trying to defend) in the same category as the inscrutable doctrines of the three Persons and the union of the divine and human Natures in Christ, he would have been free to bring reason as a reverent handmaid to the exposition and elucidation of scriptural truth, instead of doing himself, when it suits his purpose, what he forbids Erasmus to do when it suits his—namely, indulge in presumptuous speculation, and explain away one doctrine in a superficial attempt to defend another with which it stands in paradox.

God Hidden in Majesty and God Revealed in His Word

This problem of Revelation and Reason is again raised in discussing God hidden in Majesty, and God revealed in His Word—and again, while roundly condemning the probings and speculations of presumptuous reason about the Will inscrutable of the God of Majesty, Luther goes on not only to speculate, but to affirm that the Will inscrutable wills the death of the sinner.

> The Diatribe is deceived by its own ignorance, in not making a distinction between *God Preached* and *God Hidden*, that is, between the Word of God, and God Himself. God does many things which He does not make known unto us in His Word. He also wills many things which He does not in His Word make known to us that He wills. Thus, He does not '*will* the death of a sinner', that is, *in His Word*, but He *wills* it by that *Will Inscrutable.* But in the present case we are to consider His Word only, and to leave that Will inscrutable, seeing that it is by His Word and not by that Will inscrutable that we are to be guided, for who can direct himself according to a Will inscrutable and incomprehensible? It is enough to know only that there is in God a certain Will inscrutable, but *what*, *why*, and *how far* that Will wills, it is not lawful to inquire, to wish to know, to be concerned about, or to reach unto—it is only to be feared and adored! (Sect. 44.)

Yet in the face of the revealed Word that God desireth *not* the death of the sinner, Luther speculates that the Will inscrutable which is *not* to be scrutinised *does* will the death of the sinner!

That the distinction between God hidden in Majesty and God revealed in His Word is valid, who would gainsay? That we know nothing of God except what He reveals in His Word, who would deny? And it may be granted that what is revealed is only a fraction of the infinite glory and majesty of the living God—but what must surely be gainsaid and denied is that there can be any inherent contradiction between the essential and the revealed Being of God. That is sheer human speculation, and, if true, it would destroy the Gospel. As always, Luther is magnificent in his positive statements of Biblical doctrine, but when he is pursuing a negative line, attacking Erasmus, his weapons cease to be scriptural, and become speculative and rationalistic. His links with medieval scholasticism become only too obvious.

The point involved here is surely that the only God we know is the revealed God, and that revealed God wills *not* the death of the sinner. If logic is to be pressed into service, then surely here, as the handmaid of Revelation it will insist that there can be no fundamental contradiction between God in Himself, and God revealed. It is something of God in Himself that *is* revealed. In the Gospel it is revealed that God is love—that means not simply that He reveals a face of love to us in Jesus

Christ, the Word, but that whatever *more* He may be, God is not something *other*—He is, in Himself, love. God-in-His-Word is not a deceitful façade speaking love and peace while the *real* God, the living God of veiled Majesty is quite other, a contradictory other, in His essential Being. The love and mercy and the Will that the sinner should live, which are manifest in the earthly life of Jesus Christ, are of the true nature of God as He is in Himself. God still remains the God of veiled Majesty far above man's probing and understanding, but His eternal Essence is the same in kind as that revealed in the Word. Jesus Christ reveals God. There is no contradiction within the Godhead, no 'difference of opinion', no inconsistency between essential Being and revealed Word. We do not have a God of Wrath and a Christ of Mercy. We have the most Holy God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ reconciling us to Himself, and truly to Himself, in His Son, in whom 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (Col. 2.9).

The Foreknowledge of God

Another aspect of the paradox which confronts Luther—and Erasmus—is the apparent contradiction between the foreknowledge of God and human freedom and responsibility. Here again Luther in contending for what is surely true of God (that He foreknows) brushes aside what Erasmus contends for—man's freedom and responsibility. If there is a paradox between what is to be said of God and what is to be said of man, Luther invariably sacrifices the latter completely to the former, whereas Erasmus insists that what we know of our own life and our own human nature must not be explained away in the interest of a doctrine of God. What neither, apparently, could accept was that paradox may have to stand even at the heart of faith, and that any tentative solution, or suggested line of approach to one may involve a new dimension of life or thought not allowed for in their scholastic wranglings.

On God's foreknowledge, and the impossibility of allowing for human freedom because of it, Luther writes:

> Is it not searching with temerity, when we attempt to make the all-free prescience of God to harmonise with our freedom, prepared to derogate prescience from God, rather than lose our own liberty? Is it not temerity, when He imposes necessity upon us, to say with murmurings and blas-

> phemies, 'Why doth he yet find fault?—for who hath resisted his will?' (Rom. 9.19). Where is the God by nature most merciful? Where is He who 'willeth not the death of a sinner'? Has He then created us for this purpose only, that He might delight Himself in the torments of men? And many things of the same kind, which will be howled forth by the damned in hell to all eternity. (Sect. 93.)

Even if Luther is not prepared at this point to allow for the existence, albeit in a baffling mystery, of human responsibility and divine love as elements in the overall problem, one might expect that at least he would elaborate the doctrine of divine foreknowledge on the basis of the Biblical quotations he here makes, but it is quite otherwise. He builds his case exclusively on an avowedly rationalistic and naturalistic foundation. Having insisted that Erasmus find a scriptural basis, i.e. a basis in Revelation for his position, he seeks to defend his own position in the following terms:

> Natural Reason herself is compelled to confess that the living and true God must be such an one as, by His own liberty, to impose necessity on us. For He must be a ridiculous God, or idol rather, who did not to a certainty, foreknow the future, or was liable to be deceived by events, when even the Gentiles ascribed to their gods 'fate inevitable'. And He would be equally ridiculous if He could not do, and did not do all things, or if anything could be done without Him. If then the prescience and omnipotence of God be granted, it naturally follows, as an irrefragable consequence, that we neither were made by ourselves, nor live by ourselves, nor do anything by ourselves, but by His omnipotence. And since He at the first foreknew that we should be such, and since He has made us such, and moves and rules over us as such, how, I ask, can it be pretended that there is any liberty in us to do, in any respect, otherwise than He at first foreknew and now proceeds in action. (Sect. 93.)

And so Luther would establish the doctrine of the foreknowledge of God on a basis of natural reason and pagan example, reducing all that is other than God to a mechanical sequence. Why not make the final step of removing this limitation of the Absolute and accept that all must *be* God? The Hindu makes that simple step from the same kind of starting point.

Luther has already cited the pagan poets to give evidence that 'All things stand fixed by law immutable'. The passage runs:

> But why should these things be abstruse to us Christians, so that it should be considered irreligious, curious, and vain, to discuss and know them,

> when heathen poets, and the very commonality, have them in their mouths in the most frequent use? How often does Virgil alone make mention of Fate? 'All things stand by law immutable.' 'Fixed is the day of every man.' Again, 'If the Fates summon you.' And again, 'If thou shalt break the binding chain of Fate.' All this poet aims at is to show that in the destruction of Troy, and in raising the Roman Empire, Fate did more than all the devoted efforts of men. In a word, he makes even their immortal gods subject to Fate. To this, even Jupiter and Juno must, of necessity, yield. Hence they made the three Parcae immutable, implacable, and irrevocable in decree.
>
> Those men of wisdom knew that which the event itself, with experience, proves, that no man's own counsels ever succeeded, but that the event happened to all contrary to what they thought. . . .
>
> Whence we may see that the knowledge of predestination and of the prescience of God, was no less left in the world than the notion of the divinity itself. (Sect. 11.)

This is not only the teaching of the classical poets, but it is of the essence of Islam too. Does the foreknowledge of God indicate inevitably a form of predestination which is rigidly fatalistic? Are Christian predestination and Greek and Muslim fatalism one? The missionary in a Muslim country finds every attempt to care for the sick, to save the life of a neglected child, to insist on some rudimentary moral standards *within the Christian Community*, completely frustrated by the dead weight of this Muslim doctrine which saturates the Church. His first encounter with death—the death of someone he knows, brought about by a fatalism which reckoned it unnecessary and superfluous to take a curable case to a Mission hospital—cures him of the delusion that the pagan and the Christian doctrines are to be identified, or that the Muslim view may be cited to substantiate the Christian. He spends his life fighting that paganism within the Church.

In dealing with this doctrine, there is again here in Luther his invariable unwillingness to let paradox stand. The freedom and responsibility which, within the experience of faith, and on the teaching of the Gospel, we know to be constitutive of our redeemed humanity is sacrificed in the interests of a philosophical speculation as to the foreknowledge of God and its incompatibility with any kind or degree of human freedom whatever.

Also, he fails to realise the philosophical contradictions involved in his philosophical propositions about the foreknowledge of God. From God's foreknowledge he argues to the inevitability of all things, and a totally mechanistic view of the universe, including man. The philosophical fallacy lies in the unwarranted assumption that God's knowledge is in time—hence it can be described as 'fore'-knowledge. But God is in eternity, and His knowledge transcends time. Therefore arguments based upon the knowledge of before and after, and the very use of the prefix '—fore', are irrelevant and inadmissable. Here indeed is the inscrutable God. We cannot discuss eternity and the eternal knowledge of God from the point of view of time and the time sequence—a necessary dimension is missing. If we press the argument logically, then we cannot even speak of the 'fore'-knowledge of God in whom is no before and after. Paul, of course, in his discussion of God's foreknowledge is not speaking as a philosopher (it is Luther who drags the problem to the level of natural reason, i.e. of philosophy and speculation outside Revelation), but as a theologian—therefore he must use what words are available, and he uses them to *confess*.

Luther finds paradox impossible, yet in the problem of relating the temporal to the eternal, the finite to the infinite, the sinful to the holy, the human to the divine, paradox is inherent. Without it, we cannot begin to speak of such things. The Bible presses behind such paradoxes, which as intellectual problems may trouble the philosopher, and therefore all of us as rational beings, to the inescapable realities which they compel us to hold in equipoise as parts of the living truth.

If Luther cannot accept such a position, then why does he not press his rationalism to the point where the contradiction is not between the divine and the human attributes, but within the very Being of God Himself? In the present context that would involve the simple and inescapable argument that if God must foreknow, then He must foreknow not only man's destiny, but what *He Himself* will do. So from all eternity God is the slave of His own foreknowledge about Himself—all is laid down from eternity to eternity, and He cannot change or will other than what He before all ages already knew. So not only man's freedom, but God's freedom is sacrificed to His foreknowledge. Such a line of argument about the impossibility of freedom in God is as valid—or invalid—as Luther's argument about the impossibility of freedom in man. God, like man, may have either foreknowledge or freedom—but not both—and both paradoxes, in man and in God, are born of illegitimate speculation along rationalistic lines about the holy God of hidden Majesty. There is the same philosophical fallacy in each of the imposing of temporal categories upon the eternal.

Predestination and Free-will

As is evident in the foregoing studies, so in his discussion of the specific problem of predestination and free-will, it is Luther's bold confessional attitude to Revelation that is his strength, and his weakness is his rather vicious scholasticism as he attacks Erasmus, and embarks upon rationalistic speculations about the ways of the God of hidden Majesty.

The fundamental weakness in Luther's argument throughout the study of predestination and free-will is just that to resolve the paradox between the two, he pushes the problem, and therefore the problem of salvation back behind the realm of the revealed God, God in His Word, to the realm of the inscrutable God of hidden Majesty, and is prepared on purely speculative grounds to argue that man does not possess free-will, and it is solely by the Will of God, regardless of human merit or response, that some are saved and some are damned. The Will of God, free and sovereign, has so predestined some to salvation, some to perdition. Since it does not accord with the character of the revealed gracious God who loves us and comes to us savingly in Christ, the Word Incarnate, to posit that He wills that some should suffer eternally the torments of the damned by His deliberate pre-arrangement, it is necessary to posit that in His essential hidden Being God is other in kind and character than we know Him in the gracious Word, and *that* God is to be feared and adored—and since He is such a Being, that means not the humble reverence of the worshipping son before the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, but the stark terror of the bewildered and the lost before the overwhelming inscrutable Will of the unknown and unknowable Being whom Luther still calls God.

Nothing can be predicated of Luther's hidden God of Majesty—least of all anything revealed in Jesus Christ. No category of holiness, righteousness, or mercy may be applied to Him in His essential Being. Can any amount of mercy shown towards the elect blind us to the unrighteousness and injustice of inflicting eternal torment upon those who are damned simply because the inscrutable hidden God not only wills it so, but has willed it so from all eternity? So God becomes the source of unending suffering, planned before creation for multitudes who are in every essential to be identical with multitudes for whom Christ was to die, and who would enter into the eternal blessedness of the children of God.

In facing the mystery of human sin and damnation Luther would have done well to 'put the hand upon the mouth', instead of passing from confession to such speculations as:

> It is to be in no small degree ascribed unto His Wisdom that He causes us to believe Him to be just, even where He appears to be unjust. For if His Righteousness were such that it was considered to be righteousness according to human judgment, it would be no longer divine, nor would it in anything differ from human righteousness. But as He is the one and true God, and moreover incomprehensible, and inaccessible by human reason, it is right, nay it is necessary, that His Righteousness should be incomprehensible: even as Paul exclaims saying, 'Oh, the depth of the riches, both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out!' But they would be no longer 'past finding out' if we were in all things able to see how they are righteous. (Sect. 165.)

It would seem that what makes God's wisdom and righteousness 'past finding out' is that they are quite other in kind from what men mean by these terms. In fact, to use such words as 'righteousness' and 'justice' of God becomes entirely meaningless. Surely justice as a divine attribute belongs to God as God, and however much of His divine Nature and Being is hidden from us, creatures and sinful, yet what is hidden cannot be other in *kind* from what is revealed. All that we know of righteousness and justice we know by the Revelation of God. They are not a human invention or speculation or discovery. We know them in our encounter with God in Jesus Christ. God manifests Himself as righteous and just, and all our knowledge of righteousness and justice is rooted in that. Since that is real and authentic Revelation, God *is* righteous and just. Human righteousness and justice, derived from these in God, are the same in kind—here we are made in the divine image, and whatever may have been lost through sin, what is received again in the life of redemption is a true and valid vision and experience of righteousness and justice as they are manifest in

Christ, and revealed by Him as belonging to the Nature of God.

If they are not of the very Being of God in Himself, then we are of all men most miserable, as in that case the last word may not be of mercy and salvation, but of torment and damnation. If in the last resort the righteousness and justice of God are not what we take them to be in Christ, then we are deceived, and righteousness and justice as they shall finally be encountered in eternity may be what we here call unrighteousness and injustice—and all that will then remain to be done will be to realise that He whom we have here called the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and our Father is, in fact, the devil. Righteousness may then be unrighteousness, truth may be falsehood, salvation may be damnation—who can tell, with such a God—or devil.

Missionaries in Muslim countries are only too familiar with this issue. In fact, the parallel between Luther's hidden God of Majesty, and the Muslim's Allah is close and significant. A notable Muslim convert, himself a scholar of no mean repute, once remarked that when rightly understood the Muslim Allah is the devil—for the very reasons adduced above. There is no 'Word' in Islam. There is in it no Revelation of God. Allah reveals in the Qur'ān certain facts about man and his attitude to man, certain religious observances and social duties to be performed, a creed to be spoken, and a day of judgment to be expected. There is no question of holiness or righteousness either in this world or in the world to come. These words have no real meaning in Islam. Integrity, purity, justice—there is no meaningful concept underlying such glibly used words (a point quite overlooked in the West when listening to statesmen from the East), and all this because there is nothing of these moral or spiritual qualities revealed in Allah. Allah himself is always hidden and unknown. He is Luther's hidden God of Majesty about whom and whose holiness, righteousness, justice, and truth, anything or nothing may be said. To attribute righteousness to Allah is anthropomorphism. It would make an interesting study to investigate how far Luther's doctrine is influenced by Muslim teaching through the schoolmen. Certainly Aquinas not only wrote his second greatest work, the *Contra Gentiles* as an apologetic against Islam, but did so in the current terms and categories of Muslim scholasticism which derived from Aristotle—and Luther's links with the Christian schoolmen are only too obvious.

To allow for one moment that the hidden God of Majesty may be quite different from the God revealed in Jesus Christ, and that the concepts of holiness, righteousness, and justice may be quite reversed in significance in Him, is to destroy the Gospel once and for all. God is in His whole Being, revealed or hidden, the one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our Father in Him, the Redeemer God truly revealed in Christ for what He indubitably is.

Reconstruction

No doubt Luther was the child of his times—not only in his readiness to attack his opponent as well as his arguments (in terms that would more than justify a libel action in our day) but still more in his obsession with medieval scholastic, i.e. rationalistic and mechanistic, categories. Perhaps it would be too much to expect that he might have faced these problems, even if he could not solve them, in terms not of the impersonal, the mechanical, the legalistic, and the inscrutable, but in terms of the personal and the spiritual.

There may be something of inevitability in the growth of a flower in response to sun, wind, and rain, but there is less of inevitability and still more of mystery in the growth of a child within the family. To separate the will of the mother from the will of the child in their growing relationship, and to attempt to determine the degree of each involved in a maturing unity of love and understanding is to misunderstand the situation radically, and to fail to take account of the decisive categories of the personal and the spiritual. It is not just that persons are more complex than things. They are different in kind, and to explain human relationships in mechanistic terms of distinct and separate responsibilities is to fall into the error of naturalistic philosophy—to explain by ignoring, to remain blind to a whole dimension of being.

In mathematics it is axiomatic that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts, but in the personal and spiritual realm the whole is always more than and different from the sum of its parts: and when God stoops in Jesus Christ to meet man, to redeem him, and relate him spiritually to Himself, we do not simply find that what continues is divine omnipotence added to human bondage. God is known primarily not for His Omnipotence but for His Love. He chooses to recreate man, and as a Father to accept man as His son: but from the outset man is not a stone nor an animal—and even if he does bring to the relationship simply a slave will, what is found thereafter in the relationship of redemption is a personal and spiritual encounter and fellowship, and within that, man knows himself safe within the Love of God, and still a responsible person who must listen seriously to what is addressed to him as a responsible person in the Word, without trying to explain it away as Luther does.

We cannot start from the hidden God of Majesty—without Revelation we can only speculate about Him, and perhaps find in the end that He is the devil. We know God as our Father, our Saviour in Christ, and then are granted a full personal life of fellowship in which we worship and adore Him who is only partially, but yet essentially and authentically, revealed in His Son.

It is significant how little indication there is in the New Testament that God is inscrutable, and how frequently the phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ* is used. That indicates our true starting point.

Considering man at the mechanical level Luther can say:

> The human will is, as it were, a beast between the two. If God sit thereon, it wills and goes where God will. . . . If Satan sit thereon, it wills and goes as Satan will. Nor is it in the power of its own will to choose to which rider it will run, nor which it will seek, but the riders themselves contend which shall have and hold it. (Sect. 25.)

That is, the determinism arises not at the level of every petty choice, but in the radical creative or recreative Act of God—as at our birth, which happened without our willing it, or knowing anything about it, yet without preventing us from growing up to be responsible human beings. No one would gainsay that God is fully responsible for the mystery of creation—our creation—but Luther goes a long way beyond his metaphor of the brute beast being contended for by God and the devil when he acknowledges the validity of Erasmus's metaphor that 'the husbandman gathers in the increase, but it was God that gave it' (Sect. 131), as a picture of man's co-operation with God. Of this he says:

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> What do these similitudes prove? Nothing more than that the creature co-operates with the operating God! (Sect. 131.)

In that 'nothing more', which he so belittles, lay the simple starting point for a less mechanical view, and a more personal and spiritual doctrine of predestination. If Luther had not been as anxious to single out the divine contribution in salvation as Erasmus was to single out the human responsibility involved, he might have constructed on this foundation of man co-operating with the operating God, the redeeming God, a doctrine worthy of the great reality it tries to express.

God creates. God recreates. But He recreates to sonship, to a responsible relationship of love and faith and faithfulness, a relationship of growth in fellowship, of eternal life in communion, recreates man not to be a saw (as Luther asserts) but a son. I in Christ, and Christ in me. The 'I' is to be taken seriously. It was taken seriously on Calvary. There is no question of saws and brute beasts there, but of living persons redeemed at that cost, to live in the fellowship of the Son of God. The last word in every act of Christian worship is that the congregation should go in the fellowship of God the Holy Spirit—the One who proceeds from the Father and the Son to bind us in personal spiritual life to the living God.

THE ONE BAPTISM AS A CATEGORY OF NEW TESTAMENT SOTERIOLOGY

by THE REV. DR J. A. T. ROBINSON

'I ACKNOWLEDGE *one* baptism for the remission of sins'; 'There is one body and one Spirit, . . . one Lord, one faith, *one* baptism' (Eph. 4.4 f). What precisely is here the significance of the word 'one'? It would clearly be inadequate to see this unity simply as a matter of Church order—though it may yet be more significant than we have allowed that, in spite of everything, divided Christendom still today recognises a single baptism. We should be nearer the heart of the matter to say that baptism is one because it makes one. Just as it is 'because there is one bread' that 'we, who are many, are one body' (1 Cor. 10.17), so it is baptism which in the first place creates this unity: 'In one Spirit were we all baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free' (1 Cor. 12.13); 'for as many of you as were baptised into Christ . . . are all one man in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3.27 f).

Yet there are other elements in the NT doctrine of baptism which suggest that even this does not exhaust the meaning of the phrase. To be baptised 'into Christ' is not merely to find a new and given unity among ourselves. It is to be 'baptised into his death' (Rom. 6.3), to be 'circumcised . . . in the circumcision of Christ' (Col. 2.11). Behind Christian baptism stands the baptism, unique and all-inclusive, undertaken by Jesus Himself for the sins of the whole world.[1] Indeed, the fundamental reason why baptism 'makes one' is that it brings men under a baptism 'once made'. The one baptism is that by which the Church is created, before it is that which the Church administers. As Professor Cullmann has put it: 'According to the New Testament, all men have in principle received baptism long ago, namely on Golgotha, at Good Friday and Easter. There the essential act of baptism was carried out, entirely without our co-operation, and even without our faith. There the whole world was baptised on the ground of the absolutely sovereign act of God, who in Christ "first loved us" (John 4.19) before we loved Him, even before we believed' (*Baptism in the New Testament*, p. 23).[1]

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[1] Cf. W. F. Flemington, *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism*, p. 72.

The purpose of this article is to explore the extent to which this conception of the work of Christ as a single, prevenient and all-inclusive baptism is in fact to be found in primitive Christianity. On the face of it, it is not self-evident that '*according to the New Testament*, all men have in principle received baptism long ago'. Has Cullmann's generalisation a sound or broad basis? The answer to this question must affect not only his own treatment of the subject but the whole fresh understanding of baptism which is emerging, with such significance for the ecumenical Church, from the revival of Biblical theology.

I believe that Cullmann is right. I believe that it can be shown (*a*) that such a conception, though attaching itself preeminently and naturally to the death of Christ, is used to interpret His whole work from His baptism in Jordan to the final release of the Spirit at Pentecost; and (*b*) that such an understanding is to be traced in every important literary tradition in the NT—in Mark, Q, John, Acts, Paul, the Pastorals, Hebrews, Peter and the Apocalypse. The cumulative evidence suggests that this was one of the major categories of primitive soteriology and that it had its foundation in the creative interpretation of Jesus Himself.

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[1] Such a statement, of course, immediately raises many important questions about the relation of this single 'world baptism' to the Church and its sacramental action. It is not the purpose of this article to pursue these. Suffice it to say that the general baptism already undertaken *for* all men has to be made savingly effective, through faith, *in* all men. The instrument through which the work of Christ, already universal in extent, is made universal in obedience is the Church (Eph. 3.10), which is also the pledge and first-fruits of the whole of creation as it will be (Jas. 1.18). The baptism of *all men* in the work of Jesus can therefore be described equally as the baptism of *the Church* (e.g., at Pentecost or in Eph. 5.25-7). By that is not meant that only a section of mankind is after all affected—for the Church is, intentionally and eschatologically, the whole of humanity renewed in Christ. Rather, it is only as mankind becomes the Church, and, this side of the Consummation, only in the Church, that what has been universally achieved is individually effective. A man must therefore be incorporated in the Church if the general baptism is to become savingly his own. Hence the vital place occupied by the sacrament of baptism, as that which, by grafting the individual into the very body of Christ, is for him through faith 'the actualisation of the Christ-event' (O. Cullmann, *Les sacrements dans l'évangile johannique*, p. 47). It should therefore be clear that emphasis on the general baptism wrought in Christ's completed work is in no way detrimental to a high doctrine of the sacramental action of the Church, but gives to it rather its decisive theological significance.

(1) The obvious passage from which to start is Mark 10.38 f, in which Jesus speaks of His own 'baptism'.

> Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with? And they said unto him, We are able. And Jesus said unto them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptised withal shall ye be baptised.

The passage occurs in a context heavily laden with prediction of the Passion. But it would be a mistake to jump too quickly to the conclusion that the baptism of which Jesus speaks is simply His death. In the Matthean parallel the allusion is deliberately so restricted: the reference to baptism is omitted and the cup becomes that which 'I am about to drink' (Matt. 20.22). But in Mark the verbs are in the present—'the baptism that I am being baptised with', 'the cup that I am drinking'. The baptism of Jesus is His whole existence in the form of a servant, all that is included in His being upon earth 'not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mark 10.45). What lies simply in the future is not the baptism but the apostles' share in that baptism: 'ye shall be baptised'. It is only in the Cross that the baptism becomes inclusive and can therefore be vicarious. In the comment of the Fourth Gospel, 'except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John 12.24).

(2) Along with this must be taken the second passage in which Jesus speaks of the baptism that is laid upon him. Its similarity is particularly striking as it comes from a non-Markan source.

> I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! (Luke 12.49 f).

In interpreting this passage (which has no parallel in Matthew, though it has a distinctively 'Q' ring)[1], one should probably separate it from the verses immediately following in Luke

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[1] Cf. Luke 12.49 *πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* with Matt. 10.34 *ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. In the latter instance Matthew's version of Q is verbally much closer to Luke 12.49 than is Luke's own *εἰρήνην παρεγενόμην δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῇ* in 12.51. It looks as if Luke, having put the two sayings together, has altered (and very much weakened) the second for the sake of stylistic variation.

('Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division'), which occur at Matt. 10.34 f in a different context. The verbal association in 'I came . . . I am come' appears to account for the linking of the passages by Luke, for the point of the two sayings—baptism and the division of households—is entirely different. If then they are isolated pericopae, we should clear our minds of the idea that the 'fire' of v. 49 has necessarily the same significance as the 'division' (Matt: 'sword') of v. 51.

I suggest that the words 'I came to cast fire upon the earth' are to be interpreted in the light of Luke 3.16 = Matt. 3.11: 'He shall baptise you in Holy Spirit and fire.' This gives the connexion between the 'fire' of v. 49 and the 'baptism' of v. 50, which is not otherwise apparent. The purpose of Jesus' coming is to loose upon the world the pentecostal fire of the Spirit, which must in the first instance be a fire of judgment. He could wish it were already aflame. '*But* I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!' The release of the Spirit waits upon the completion of the baptism in Jesus' death. In other words, the teaching is the same as John 7.39: 'The Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified.' It is also in harmony with our interpretation of Mark 10.38 f. Until the baptism is thoroughly finished (ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ: cf. the τετέλεσται of John 19.30), the Son of man is straitened: it is only in the Cross and Resurrection that its confinement to Jesus' person is broken.

These two passages have given us a conception of a baptism undergone by Jesus, which, though it finds its consummation in His death, is not confined to it. Whence did this conception of His ministry derive? We can hardly be wrong in seeking the answer in His own baptism at the hands of John. To this we now turn.

(3) Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan unto John, to be baptised of him. But John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptised of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffereth him. And Jesus, when he was baptised, went up straightway from the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and coming upon him; and lo, a voice out of the heavens, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased (Matt. 3.13-17).

Cullmann has shown (op. cit., pp. 16-19) the extent to which the baptism of Jesus must be interpreted in the light of the Isaianic Servant Songs. The voice declaring Jesus the beloved or chosen Son of God is a clear echo of Isa. 42.1, which continues with a reference to the descent of the Spirit. The essential meaning of Jesus' baptism is precisely that He was 'numbered with the transgressors' and 'bare the sin of many' (Isa. 53.12). He entered upon it 'to fulfil all righteousness' (*πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην*). That is to say, 'Jesus will effect a general forgiveness' (Cullmann), or, in the words again of Isa. 42.1, 'he will bring forth judgment for the nations'. Cullmann also comments on Luke 3.21 ('Now when *all* the people (*ἅπαντα τὸν λαόν*) were baptised, Jesus also was baptised'): 'He is distinguished from the mass of other baptised people, who are baptised for their own sins, as the One called to the office of the Servant of God who suffers *for all others*.'

Jesus' acceptance of baptism at the hands of John is therefore the beginning of that baptism of vicarious suffering which could only be completed in the Cross. When Ignatius (ad Eph. 18.2)[1] says of Jesus that He was 'baptised that by His submission (or, by His passion, *τῷ πάθει*) He might cleanse the water', he rightly divined the connexion between the baptism and death of Christ. The Fourth Gospel also sees already in the figure coming to John for baptism 'the Lamb of God (cf. Isa. 53.7), which taketh away (or, beareth (?); cf. Isa. 53.4) the sin of the world' (John 1.29). The baptism is the anticipation of the Cross, in which Jesus in Jordan foresuffered all, and as such it gives to the Cross and all that lies between the two events its own character of a baptism.

But—and this is equally significant for the understanding of Christian baptism as the act in which the Christian not merely dies but also rises with Christ (Rom. 6.4; Col. 2.12)—the baptism of Jesus is likewise the anticipation of His resurrection and ascension. As Jesus goes up[2] from the water, God's voice declares Him His Son in phrases which, as we have seen, designate that Sonship under the form of a servant. But this only prefigures what the primitive Preaching was to see fulfilled in the Resurrection, of which it boldly proclaimed, now in the words of the royal psalm, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee' (Acts 13.33).[1] This teaching is summarised in the credal formula of Rom. 1.4, which asserts that Christ was 'declared to be Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead'.

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[1] Cited by W. F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 42.

[2] Professor G. W. H. Lampe, in his article '*Baptisma* in the New Testament' (*Scottish Journal of Theology*, June 1952), draws attention to the significance of this word *ἀναβαίνειν* in the baptismal narratives (Mark 1.10; Matt. 3.16; cf. Acts 8.39), which occurs seven times in the NT of the Ascension of Christ. At His Baptism Christ 'goes up', possessed of the promised Spirit which He will pour forth upon the Church after the Ascension (Acts 2.33). In Eph. 4.4-10 there is a similar

The association at the baptism of Jesus of the gift of the Spirit with the declaration of Sonship is the ground of the connexion between Christian baptism, the Spirit, and our adoption as sons (Gal. 3.26-4.7; cf. Rom. 8.14-16). In Gal. 4.6 the correct translation should in all probability run: 'And to declare that ye are sons of God, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' Christian baptism

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connexion between the 'one baptism' and the ascended Christ as the giver of the gifts of the Spirit.

This may also underlie the apparently abrupt transition in John 3.9-13 (on which *vide* O. Cullmann, *Les sacrements dans l'évangile johannique*, p. 47). To Nicodemus' question, 'How can these things be?' (i.e. rebirth through baptism), Jesus replies, 'No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven'. The birth from above (*ἄνωθεν*) means, looked at the other way round, and ascent into heaven. But that is possible only by union with the crucified Son of man (3.14), who alone can ascend. It is this that baptism affords, namely, participation in the whole descent and ascent of Christ, which was enacted proleptically in the water-baptism of Jesus Himself. There is a similar connexion in the ensuing passage (John 3.22-36), where, in contrast with John's baptism which is 'of the earth', the Christ (as the true Baptist) comes 'from heaven' bringing the gift of the Spirit which he has received of the Father.

The notion that baptism is the Christian's participation in the descent and ascent of Christ, giving victory over the entire gamut of cosmic forces in heaven and earth and under the earth, is probably the meaning of 1 Peter 3.18-22 (*vide* E. G. Selwyn, Commentary *ad loc.*). The little sermon on the meaning of baptism in vv. 20 f reads like an interpolation into a creed which recites the descent and ascent of Christ shortly to become the candidate's own:

'Christ . . .
Being put to death in the flesh,
But quickened in the spirit,
In the which also he went and made proclamation to the spirits in prison (i.e. the angelic forces of darkness);
Who is on the right hand of God,
Having gone into heaven,
Angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him.'

Cf. the closely parallel creed in 1 Tim. 3.16.

[1] F. J. Leenhardt (*Le baptême chrétien*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-9) sees this psalm rather than the Servant Songs as decisive for the interpretation also of the Baptism narrative. It is true that it has made its way into the Western text of Luke 3.22 ('Thou art my beloved Son, today have I begotten thee'), but this cannot be accepted as more than an assimilation. Cullmann is surely right in saying that 'Christ at His Baptism is not yet proclaimed King but only the Servant of God. His Lordship reappears later, after His Resurrection' (*Baptism in the New Testament*, p. 17).

simply reproduces in the life of the Christian the one baptism of Jesus begun in Jordan and completed in the Resurrection. In Eph. 1.5-6 our 'adoption as sons through Jesus Christ' is associated with the grace 'freely bestowed on us *in the Beloved*'. The choice of this title for Christ (found only here in the Pauline writings) may again indicate that the ground of our sonship rests in the baptism of Jesus.

(4) In connexion with the baptism in Jordan, it is natural to consider a catena of Johannine passages which again link this closely with Christ's death, with the giving of the Spirit and with Christian baptism. They are:

> This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is the truth. For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one (1 John 5.6-8).
>
> He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this he spake of the Spirit, which they that believed on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet given; because Jesus was not yet glorified (John 7.38 f).
>
> When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up his spirit (or, handed over the Spirit) (John 19.30).
>
> One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and straightway there came out blood and water. And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true (John 19.34f).

For the purposes of interpretation, the first passage is the decisive one. Its primary purpose is to insist upon the unity of the baptism and death of Jesus, against those who held that the divine Christ descended upon the human Jesus at Jordan but left Him before His crucifixion. The water *and* the blood, the baptism and the Cross taken together (conjoined with the witnessing voice of the Spirit) are the testimony that Jesus is the Son of God. Indeed, the baptism of Jesus, as He Himself saw, is made complete only in His death. So, in typical Johannine manner, all the symbolism of the baptism is transferred to the Cross itself, where alone it attains its full meaning. It is from the Crucified that the water and the Spirit, as well as the blood, proceed. The Cross is the consummation of the baptism, and consequently, truly considered, it is on the Cross that the world's baptism takes place. Hence the fount and origin of the

Church's sacrament is not an isolated word of institution but the body of the Crucified Himself.

(5) In the light of this, another Johannine passage becomes significant—the feet-washing of John 13. This incident is linked with great deliberation to the final consummation of Christ's mission in His death and return to the Father (vv. 1-3). Jesus states clearly that its real meaning will become perspicuous only after these events: 'What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt understand hereafter' (*μετὰ ταῦτα*) (v. 7). Then occurs the following dialogue:

> Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Jesus saith unto him, He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit (John 13.8-10).

The setting of the incident ('during supper', v. 2); the mysterious reference to the future, the period of the Church; the solemn words, 'If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me'; and the command to repeat what is described as a *ὑπόδειγμα* (v. 15); all these strongly suggest that we have here a conscious parallel with the Synoptic account of the institution of the eucharist. The distinction between being 'bathed' (*λούεσθαι*) and being 'dipped' (*νίπτεσθαι*) would lead us to suppose that the latter is a symbolic, sacramental act. But if it is the action of 'dipping' (to which too the promise of incorporation is attached) which stands for Christian baptism, what are we to make of *ὁ λελουμένος*? I suggest that the only intelligible reference for this is to the act of general baptism which Jesus is about to accomplish in His death. It is this 'bathing' which is to be the ground of the Church's sacramental action and which will make it sufficient for salvation. As in the institution of the eucharist, Jesus is here imposing upon His coming death, by an act of prophetic symbolism, its true interpretation and significance. It is to be the great washing which will give the water-baptism of the Church its efficiency, and also its necessity (for without it there will be no incorporation in the person and work of Christ).[1]

Just as the last supper is the fore-ordination of the Christian eucharist, which can be eaten 'new' only in the resurrection order, so the feet-washing is the fore-ordination of baptism, which can become operative only with the giving of the Spirit. In the Fourth Gospel this latter event takes place in the Cross and Resurrection (John 7.39, 19.30, 20.22). For the Lukan tradition, however, it is separated temporally, though not theologically, by the space of forty days. Let us then turn to the narrative of Pentecost as recorded in Acts.

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[1] The significance of this passage is lost when it is the act of 'bathing' rather than 'dipping' which is taken to correspond to Christian baptism. Thus Cullmann

(6) The designation of the Whitsun event as a baptism is made explicit from the start.

> He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, said he, ye heard from me: for John indeed baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost not many days hence (Acts 1.4 f).

The promise that Jesus would baptise His people in Holy Spirit (and fire) stood in the Synoptic tradition from the beginning (Mark 1.8; Matt. 3.11; Luke 3.16). Neither there, nor when it is quoted in Acts (1.5, 11.16), is there any suggestion that, whereas John baptised with water, *Christians* would not. In fact on each occasion when this prophecy is regarded as fulfilled, the Church at once proceeds to water-baptism (Acts 2.38, 10.47 f). It is difficult to see why this text should have been regarded as confusing the evidence for primitive Christian initiation. For its reference is not to Church baptism at all, but to *Christ's* once and for all baptism of the Church, from which sacramental water-baptism followed without dispute.

In the light of events this activity of Christ in baptising in Holy Spirit is seen as commencing at His own baptism by John. The Fourth Gospel deliberately changes the Synoptists' 'he shall baptise' to a present ('he who baptiseth') and makes the point that the Spirit not merely descended upon Jesus but 'abode' on Him (John 1.33). From Jordan onwards the great baptism of the Spirit began, even though it was confined till the Cross and Resurrection to the representative figure of Jesus Himself. Pentecost represents its final outpouring upon all

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(*Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, pp. 102-6; *Les sacrements dans l'évangile johannique*, pp. 73-6) (and he is followed blindly by A. J. B. Higgins in *The Lord's Supper in the New Testament*, pp. 84 f) interprets the passage as meaning that he who has once been baptised (ὁ λελουμένος) requires only the eucharist for post-baptismal sin. I find this most unconvincing. I fail to see how the expresssion 'needeth only to wash his feet' can naturally describe the eucharist, to which indeed there seems to me no allusion in this incident.

flesh (Acts 2.17, 33), every nation and tongue being represented *in nuce* in the fellowship of the Church (Acts 2.6-11). It is the last act of the great drama of salvation wrought in Christ. The first act of the new era of the Church follows immediately and necessarily from it, when what has been given is transmitted by water in the name of Jesus (Acts 2.38). The reason why the Apostles and others of the original hundred and twenty did not themselves receive water-baptism is not, as has been suggested, that they had already been so baptised by John (a fact unproven and anyhow irrelevant to the need for Christian baptism; cf. Acts 19.1-6). It is rather that at Pentecost they partook of the *Heilsgeschichte* itself. They had a direct share in the One Baptism, of which the sacrament was to be the effective re-presentation for every *succeeding* person and generation (Acts 2.39).

The incident of Cornelius and his friends in Acts 10 and 11 reopens for the Church the relation between the *Heilsgeschichte* and baptism which seemed thus to be closed.

> And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, even as on us at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost. If then God gave unto them the like gift as he did also unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I, that I could withstand God? (Acts 11,15-17).

This incident is theologically parallel to the share accorded to St Paul in the actual sequence of salvation events, albeit 'to one born out of due time' (1 Cor. 15.8). Each case marked a decisive stage in the extension of the Israel of God to include the Gentiles (Acts 9.15, 10.45). Where the Church would not itself have acted, God declares He is not bound by His sacraments by continuing into the time of the Church the once and for all events of the Resurrection and Pentecost. But the Church must acknowledge and assimilate what God has initiated. The ἔκτρωμα must be incorporated, through the regular instrument of Christian initiation, into the age of the Church into which he has been born. So both Paul and Cornelius despite the fact that they have been partakers of the decisive saving events, receive water-baptism at the hands of the Church (Acts 9.18, 10.47 f).[1]

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[1] The grounds for doubting that Cornelius and his friends were in fact baptised

We turn now to the Pauline epistles.

(7) In Col. 2.11-15 Paul writes to his friends that in Christ

> Ye were . . . circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the putting off of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead. And you, being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you, I say, did he quicken together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses; having blotted out the bond written in ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us: and he hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; having put off from himself his body, he made a show of the principalities and the powers openly, triumphing over them in it.

Here the suffering of Christ is described as His circumcision. In dying, He put right off (ἀπεκδυσάμενος) the body of His flesh,[1] of which action circumcision was the partial, sacramental symbol. It is *in* this general circumcision once undertaken that Christians are circumcised. They thus win, in the complete stripping off of the flesh wrought in the death of Christ, release from sin, the law and powers of evil, whose purchase over man is through the flesh. Baptism, as the Christian circumcision, is the instrument through which the one circumcision or baptism of the Cross is made operative in the believer; for by it he is incorporated into the very body to which all this has happened (Rom. 6.3 f). The action of the Church in baptism simply releases the action of the One Baptism. In consequence, it is impossible throughout this passage to distinguish what has been done for us by the Cross and Resurrection and what by baptism. This, as we shall see, represents a typical and recurring ambiguity.[2] It is inescapable precisely because Christian baptism is none other than the great baptism of Christ now made individually effective.

(8) The most explicit Pauline description of the death of Christ in terms of a corporate baptism occurs in Eph. 5.25-7.

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with water are valid only if the saying which substitutes Spirit- for water-baptism is understood to refer to the sacramental action of the Church. As we have seen, there is no basis for this. It is true that Cornelius' baptism is not recorded explicitly in the second account; but Peter's words in 11.17, 'who was I that I could withstand God?', surely imply the consequent action taken in 10.47 f.

[1] Following the translation of the R.V. margin, which I believe to be the interpretation of the words required to make sense of the description of the Cross as a *circumcision*. I have argued the point in detail in *The Body*, p. 41 f.

[2] Who can say, for instance, whether in Eph. 2.1-10 the Apostle is referring to the once and for all action in Christ or to the moment of Christian initiation?

> Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself up for it; that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the word, that he might present the church to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.

Here the clearly baptismal language of the laver and credal formula is used to describe what has been done to the Church once in the single and sufficient oblation of Christ. The sacramental act only sets forth and sets forward what the Cross as the One Baptism has in principle already perfected.

(9) Closely linked with this passage is the language of 1 Cor. 6.11

> And such were some of you: but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.

Again it is impossible to determine whether this refers to the moment of baptism or to the event in which baptism is grounded. The language of the washing, the mention of the name and of the Spirit all suggest the act of Christian initiation. Yet equally certainly for Paul it is the death and resurrection of Christ itself in which we are sanctified, justified and, as we have just seen, washed. In the parallel words of 1 Cor. 1.30 ('But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption') the reference, as the context of the chapter demands, is clearly to the Cross. There is no contradiction: for the Cross, as in John, *is* the place of the Washing.

Two further Pauline passages deserve attention.

> (10) Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptised into the name of Paul? (1 Cor. 1.13).

'Here', as Cullmann comments, 'the two expressions "you were baptised" and "another was crucified for you" are treated as synonymous' (*Baptism in the New Testament*, p. 15). Paul's argument is to stress the impossibility of Christian disunity: 'There is one baptism', he is saying, 'namely, Christ's death, in which you have all been baptised.'

> (11) I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, how that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea (1 Cor. 10.1 f).

The point here is that the Israelites, simply by their participation in the saving events of the Exodus, were all automatically 'baptised', even though most subsequently fell away. So, the implication runs, the whole People of God have now been baptised in the new *Heilsgeschichte*, the death and resurrection of Christ, of which the Exodus was the type. There is a *fait accompli*, which has included every one of us, a general baptism, whose very objectivity makes apostasy so serious. Paul bases his warning, not, as we might, on the vows taken at Christian initiation, but on the One Baptism of Christ in which *all* have been involved, whether they have received Church baptism or not.

(12) Moving on to the Pastorals, we find in Titus 3.4-7 the same merging of the action of baptism in that of the saving events that we noted above.

> But when the kindness of God our Saviour, and his love toward man, appeared, not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to his mercy he saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that, being justified by his grace, we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

The passage opens with a clear statement of the once and for all action of God 'appearing' and redeeming history in Christ. But before long the language seems to have equally explicit allusion to Christian initiation; while, finally, the doctrine of justification by grace (picking up the previous rejection of 'works done in righteousness') appears to relate once again to the single saving act. But in truth there is no such division. I am inclined to think that there is no direct reference to the sacrament as such. 'The washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour' I take to be the whole ministry of Jesus from Jordan to Pentecost, conceived as the great Baptism whereby 'he saved us'. Clearly, this is described in the language of Christian initiation, through which alone Christians know this act as saving. But behind the sacrament stands the historical act, the Baptism which is prior to all baptisms and which, gives them their efficacy.

(13) The witness of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the same.

> Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holy place by the blood of Jesus, by the way which he dedicated for us, a new and living way,

> through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; and having a great priest over the house of God; let us draw near with a true heart in fulness of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our body washed with pure water: let us hold fast the confession of our hope that it waver not; for he is faithful that promised (Heb. 10.19-23).

The effect of the Crucifixion is here expressed in phrases which, derived originally from Jewish purifactory rites, carry in Christian parlance obvious baptismal associations—the washing with water, the confession of faith, the cleansing of a bad conscience (cf. 1 Pet. 3.21). The passage, which must be read in conjunction with 9.11-22 and 12.24, appears to be a deliberate combination of Exod. 24.8 ('And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you') and Ezek. 36.25-7 ('I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean. . . . A new heart also will I give you. . . . And I will put my spirit within you'). That is to say, the author is seeing the blood-shedding of Jesus as itself the new baptism of God's People, in which the spirit and remission of sins is given (cf. 9.14). The unanimity, particularly with the Fourth Gospel, is remarkable.

This interpretation is strengthened by the connexion between baptism and the Crucifixion which comes to light by comparing the opening of this passage with another earlier in the Epistle. In 10.19 the death of Christ is seen as the new Encaenia or Dedication (*ἐνεκαίνισεν*).[1] In 6.4-6 it is said of those who have once received baptism that 'it is impossible to renew them again (*πάλιν ἀνακαινίζειν*) unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame'. The precise connexion is not easy to define, but the underlying thought seems to be of baptism as that whereby the great act of Inauguration or Renewal, achieved once in the Cross of Christ, is made operative in the believer. Its repetition is inconceivable for two reasons. (*a*) Baptism is the communication to the individual of the great *ἐφ' ἅπαξ* of God's work in Christ: the One Baptism which has finally altered the world-situation (so that beyond it nothing more is either necessary or possible: 9.26, 10.18) has affected in the same manner the status of the person who has accepted it (6.4, 10.26). (*b*) Baptism means being put on the Cross once with Christ: it is absurd to think of renewing it for those who for their own ends are actually crucifying the Son of God again (cf. 10.29). In both arguments the presupposition is that Christian initiation derives its character and meaning from what has been done once and for all in the baptism of Christ's death.

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[1] The author seems to be conflating the two ideas that the Cross is the dedication (*a*) of the new covenant (cf. 9.18: 'Even the first covenant hath not been dedicated (*ἐνκεκαίνισται*) without blood') and (*b*) of the new temple (the Encaenia as a technical term (cf. John 10.22) goes back to the rededication of the Temple in 1 Macc. 4.54-9, and the whole argument of chapters 9 and 10 leads to the climax that Jesus has now 'opened' the new sanctuary in the temple of His body).

(14) The rudiments of a theology similar to that of Hebrews are perhaps to be found in 1 Pet. 1.2, where 'the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus' occurs in what is agreed to be a heavily baptismal context. What we have learnt to recognise as the typical blurring of baptismal language with that about the saving acts themselves occurs also in this Epistle. In 1.3 the effect of the Resurrection is described in the baptismal term of rebirth; conversely, in 3.21 it is baptism itself which 'saves' 'through the resurrection'—the words δι' ἀνάστασεως here standing parallel to δι' ὕδατος in v. 20.

Finally, there are three passages from the Apocalypse, the first two of which require to be taken together.

> (15) And the angel[1] cast his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vintage of the earth, and cast it into the winepress, the great winepress, of the wrath of God. And the winepress was trodden without the city, and there came out blood from the winepress, even unto the bridles of the horses, as far as a thousand and six hundred furlongs (Rev. 14.19 f).
>
> And I saw the heaven opened; and behold, a white horse, and he that sat thereon, called Faithful and True. . . . And he is arrayed in a garment dipped in blood: and his name is called the Word of God. And the armies which are in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and pure. . . . And he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his garment and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS (Rev. 19.11-16).

It is obvious that behind these passages stands Isa. 63.1-6. But, as so often with this writer, the changes he makes in his OT quotations are as significant as the quotation itself. In Isa. 63 it is with the blood of his enemies that the saviour's garments are sprinkled and it is their life-blood which is poured out on the earth. In Revelation the scene is still one of wrath. But 'John is giving us just a glimpse of the amazing claim of Christianity that the way God judges His enemies is not by killing them but by suffering at their hands' (R. H. Preston and A. T. Hanson, *Revelation*, p. 105). The winepress, for him the great winepress, is now the Cross, set up 'without the city' (cf. Heb. 13.12), and the blood which flows from it the Savour's own, sufficient to immerse the whole world.[1] The knights who pass through it emerge, like the baptismal *candidati*, clothed in fine linen, pure and white. 'These', as the author elsewhere tells us, 'are they which come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb' (7.14). That is possible only because the Word of God has first arrayed Himself in a garment dipped[2] in blood. The verb is *βάπτειν*, and the blood His own. Here again is the great universal Baptism in which in Christ the whole world has been plunged—a baptism of blood, in fire of judgment, yet a baptism nevertheless from which the nations may finally find healing, through the 'river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb' (22.1 f). Once more we seem to be in the presence of a Johannine theology, which sees the 'rivers of living water' flowing from the side of the Crucified on His throne of glory. The water of baptism mingles with the blood—for the Spirit and the water and the blood indeed agree in one, in the One great Baptism in which the world has died and been renewed.

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[1] If R. H. Charles (Commentary *ad loc.*) is right, the previous verses, 15-18, are an interpolation and ὁ ἄγγελος here is inserted by the same hand. V. 19 would then follow very naturally on v. 14 and the Son of man Himself be the one who gathers the vintage of the earth into (His own) winepress. This would add force to the interpretation given below.

(16) The last passage to be considered is Rev. 16—the pouring out of the seven vials of the wrath of God upon the earth. That this chapter has baptismal significance[3] is suggested by the recurrence in it of the idea of outpouring. It is noticeable that wherever else the verbs *ἐκχέειν* and *ἐκχύνειν* are used in the NT with God or Christ as their subject it is in connexion

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[1] The significance of the figure of 1600 furlongs is probably that of utter universality. 'Four is the complete number of extent, covering the four points of the compass (as seven is the complete number of quality); the square of four indicates entire completeness. It is multiplied by a hundred as a sign of greatness' (R. H. Preston and A. T. Hanson, op. cit., p. 105).

[2] The reading *βεβαμμένον* is certainly to be preferred to *ῥεραντισμένον*. There is every reason why the new word which the author deliberately introduces should be assimilated to the Isaianic 'sprinkled' but none for the opposite change.

[3] An idea I owe to Professor T. F. Torrance, who is not, however, responsible for the interpretation I have given to it.

with what we have found designated as a baptism. In Mark 14.24 (and parallels) the reference is to the blood of Christ poured out in death; in Acts 2.33 and 10.45 and Titus 3.6 it is quite explicitly to the One Baptism of the Spirit; while in Rom. 5.5 it is probably to this as it has been appropriated in individual baptism.

If we are right in seeing a similar reference here, then we have portrayed once more, this time in a series of stages, a baptism of wrath which engulfs the whole cosmos. On the face of it the scene is again simply one of judgment. Yet the climax, the *τετέλεσται*, of this baptism reads extraordinarily like a grim parody of the Crucifixion.

> And the seventh poured out his bowl upon the air; and there came forth a great voice out of the temple, from the throne, saying, It is done: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunders; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since there were men upon the earth, so great an earthquake, so mighty. And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell: and Babylon the great was remembered in the sight of God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath (16.17-19).

May it be that in the very execution of the wrath the author intends us to see completed that One Baptism of blood in which the world is not only judged but saved? Is this the astonishing Divine righteousness—and not merely the surface vindication, which at its own level is also true—that provokes the wonder of vv. 5-7?

> And I heard the angel of the waters saying, Righteous art thou, which art and which wast, thou Holy One, because thou didst thus judge: for they poured out the blood of saints and prophets, and blood hast thou given them to drink: they are worthy. And I heard the altar saying, Yea, O Lord God, the Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.

The enemies of God have poured out the blood of the saints 'like water round about Jerusalem', says the psalmist whom he quotes (79.2 f). So blood they must drink. The allusion is to Isa. 49.26: 'I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.' But once again how subtle and how total is the change! The blood is still the blood of wrath, just as the Crucifixion is seen by Jesus as recapitulating in judgment all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world (Luke 11.50 f; Matt. 23.35 f). But it is no longer their own blood. It is given them by God—poured out in the Cross like water round about Jerusalem. So this is the amazing requital of which God has deemed men worthy! Once more the bath of blood and the bath of baptism are one; and in the work of redemption so understood we have a category of interpretation among the most profound and universal in the NT.

THE GROWTH OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

by The Rev. Dr A. J. B. HIGGINS

The Old Testament is, from one point of view, primarily the record of the growth of religious ideas among the Hebrews. Yet, despite the variety of the religious ideas of the Old Testament at different stages in Hebrew history, it is possible to speak of the *theology* of the Old Testament without the word 'theology' being just another name for religious development. This is because there are certain beliefs about God and man and their relationship one to the other as saviour and saved which characterise the Old Testament as a finished and complete whole, as an entity. From another point of view the Old Testament is the record of the divine revelation in salvation vouchsafed to Israel by her God. If God speaks now through Moses, now through Isaiah of Jerusalem, now through the nameless exilic prophet, at different times 'by divers portions and in divers manners', yet His revelation is basically ever the same. The essential unity of outlook and faith in the Old Testament, transcending its diversities, is a pointer to the genuineness of the revelation and a guarantee of its substantially correct though inevitably imperfect apprehension by those to whom it was granted.

The differences within the Old Testament are, nevertheless, often more obvious than this basic theological unity. The opposite might be said of the New Testament. This is just what we should expect, because while the Old Testament spans many centuries, the New was completed within a matter of decades. Moreover, the figure of Jesus Christ crucified, raised up, and alive for evermore dominates the whole scene as a controlling motive to a degree far surpassing the role played by the most prominent figures in the Old Testament. The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is in the New Testament 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'. All the contents of the New Testament are conditioned by the supreme revelation of God who has now in these last days 'spoken to us in a Son' (Heb. 1.2). 'In the minds of the New Testament writers, theism is interlocked with Christology. Statements concerning God contain a reference, expressed or implied, to the person and work of Jesus Christ. Therefore we can grasp the distinctive character of the New Testament message concerning God only by clear discernment of the originality of its teaching about Jesus Christ.'[1] The relationship of God to man is, as in the Old Testament, that of saviour to saved, but now the salvation is wrought through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is, then, easier to speak of the *theology* of the New Testament than of the theology of the Old. But this fundamental unity of faith[2] must not blind us to the very real diversities which the New Testament also displays.

In this article we are concerned with the place of these diversities in the growth of New Testament theology. Theology did not cease to grow with the closing of the canon. Judaism is a continuing development of Old Testament theology; Christian theology is a continuing development of New Testament theology. Christians believe that, while Judaism is a development of Old Testament faith, Christianity is its true heir because the relation of the New Testament to the Old is that of fulfilment to promise. 'The beginning of the Gospel is nothing but the whole Old Testament.'[3] Since the validity of all theologies subsequent to the New Testament depends on their congruence with New Testament theology, the question of the growth of theology within the New Testament is of the utmost importance. Here, as in the theology of the Old Testament, there are vital and somewhat less vital elements. The stream is one, but many are the tributaries whose waters flow into the one stream and are there commingled, and varied are the sources from which they spring. But the chief source is that of the main stream itself. While the river would be less than it is without them, its tributaries after all are but secondary. This metaphor is, of course, not wholly satisfactory, because it is not only a matter of the original stream being augmented by contributions from various directions. These contributions, though to varying degrees and in different ways, are all (to change the metaphor) rooted in the data of New Testament theology.

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[1] F. V. Filson, *The New Testament against its Environment*, 1950, p. 9.

[2] See A. M. Hunter, *The Unity of the New Testament*, 1943.

[3] Origen, *Commentary on John*, 1.14.

By *primary* are meant firstly, those elements in the theology which are pre-resurrection in origin, i.e. which are traceable to Jesus Himself; secondly, the special cases of the Church and the Eucharist.

By *secondary*[1] are meant those elements which are post-resurrection, but which the early Church connected with Jesus: the gift of the Spirit, and the sacrament of baptism.

By *tertiary*[1] are meant post-resurrection elements of four kinds. Firstly, those whose development is due to certain suggestions in the teaching of Jesus: resurrection on the third day, and the confession of Jesus as Lord. Secondly, doctrines built upon the *primary* elements: the work of Christ in Paul, the Fourth Gospel and Hebrews; eucharistic doctrine in Paul and the Fourth Gospel. Thirdly, doctrines built upon the *secondary* elements: the Johannine teaching on the Holy Spirit in the sacraments; Pauline baptismal teaching. Fourthly, advanced Christologies.

This order cannot conveniently be observed in all respects in what follows.

Thanks to the work of C. H. Dodd[2] it is generally recognised that the early Church followed a more or less fixed pattern in its missionary preaching. The main items of this proclamation (*kerygma*) are elicited primarily from the Pauline epistles, and from the speeches of Peter in Acts[3] which represent the kind of preaching used in the first days in Jerusalem. The *kerygma* ran somewhat as follows:

> The prophecies are fulfilled, and the New Age has begun.
> The Messiah, the Son of God, born of David's line, has at last come.
> He is Jesus of Nazareth who, after his baptism by John,
> wrought mighty works by God's power, and delivered a new teaching;
> died for our sins in fulfilment of scripture;
> rose again from the dead on the third day according to scripture;
> was exalted to God's right hand as Lord;
> whence he will return for judgment.
> Let those who hear repent, and be baptised for forgiveness of sins and for the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The articles of this most primitive preaching are, with two exceptions, *primary* in our sense of the word.

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[1] This use of the terms does not concern the *validity* of those parts of New Testament theology to which they are applied.

[2] *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1936.

[3] 2.14-36. 38 f, 3.12-26 4.8-12, 10.34-43.

In declaring the arrival of the long-awaited new age the first preachers were echoing the fundamental message of Jesus as it is summarised in Mark 1.15. 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel.' The *eschaton* of Old Testament prophecy has been brought forward into the sphere of history. Jesus both accepted the title of Messiah[1] and claimed it as His.[2] The Son of God Christology has sometimes been thought to have arisen in a Gentile environment, but its use is prior to the export of Christianity from its native Palestinian soil, and indeed prior to the resurrection. In His temptations Jesus regarded Himself as the Son of God,[3] a conviction which had come to Him at His baptism in the words of Ps. 2.7. The claim to Davidic descent, while not denied by Jesus, seems to have been regarded by Him as of secondary importance.[4] It hardly needs saying that He attributed His works to God's power. As for the statement that Jesus died for our sins in fulfilment of scripture, it should be remembered that He Himself believed that the ideals of the Son of man and the Servant of God were combined and fulfilled in His person and ministry. 'The Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many'[5]—a clear allusion to the Servant of the Lord who 'bore the sin of many'.[6] Jesus expected His exaltation as Son of man to God's right hand[7]; and if He held Himself to be the embodiment of the Servant ideal, He looked to the elevation of the Servant as the sequel to His passion.[8] Despite doubts which are entertained in some quarters, Jesus expected a glorious and triumphant return as the Son of man.[9] The apostolic declaration that Jesus will fill the role of judge also seems to depend on allusions of Jesus Himself.[10]

Apart from baptism for the forgiveness of sins, which falls to be discussed later, there are in this *kerygma* only two items which are not *primary*—resurrection on the third day, and the designation Lord.

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[1] Mark 8.29 f. [2] Mark 14.61 f. [3] Matt. 4.3, 6; Luke 4.3, 9.

[4] Mark 12.35-37; see T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 2nd edn., 1935, p. 266 f. [5] Mark 10.45.

[6] Isa. 53.12. Acts explicitly calls Jesus the Servant (3.13, 26, 4.27, 30, where the Greek word is *pais*).

[7] Mark 14.62. [8] Isa. 52.13. [9] Mark 8.38, 13.26, 14.62; Matt. 25.31.

[10] Mark 8.38; Matt. 16.27, 25.31. See the writer's *The Christian Significance of the Old Testament*, 1949, p. 91, n. 2.

The idea of resurrection on the third day would seem to be superfluous when Jesus expected His exaltation to the right hand of God as the sequel to His passion. The reported allusions of Jesus to His resurrection 'after three days'[1] were put into His mouth by the Church because it corresponded with the Easter experience. Jesus was crucified on the Friday and appeared to the disciples on the first day of the week. And was not this foretold in scripture?[2]

The Lord[3] was the title of the *risen* Jesus. The transference to Him of the Old Testament title of God is due to the genesis of Christology at a very early stage after the resurrection; but ultimately it rests on the reference of Jesus to His coming exaltation to the place of honour with God the Father.

This is impressive. But there is a most significant omission from this early form of preaching. Already the self-designation of Jesus, Son of man, has dropped out.[4] And this despite the presence in the *kerygma* of the exaltation, *parousia*, and judgment with which Jesus associated this very title. It was not taken up into the apostolic preaching because it *was* Jesus' own self-designation.[5] Theological reflection on the dignity of the risen Jesus needed another title for its expression, and found this in that of Lord, which had the advantage of being readily intelligible both to Jews and Gentiles.

We turn now to the special cases of the Church and the Eucharist.[6]

The rise of the Church is a fact of history. Was it a pure accident subsequent to the death of Jesus who had never entertained the possibility of such an outcome? If so, the Church, which in any case belongs to theology as well as to history, cannot be *primary*: it will be post-resurrection not only in its emergence, but also in its origin. The Church, with all the wealth of meaning with which Paul invested it, is a post-resurrection phenomenon. But since, as G. Gloege[7] and K. L.

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[1] Mark 8.31, 9.31, 10.34.

[2] Ps. 16.10; Hos. 6.2.

[3] Rom. 10.9, 14.9; 1 Cor. 12.3, 16.22; Phil. 2.11.

[4] Its occurrence in Acts 7.56, the only one outside the Gospels, is not in a sermon, but belongs to (the representation of) a vision.

[5] Only once in the Gospels (John 12.34) is the title used by anyone else.

[6] For development of the substance of the next three paragraphs see the writer's *The Lord's Supper in the New Testament*, 1952.

[7] *Reichgottes und Kirche im Neuen Testament*, 1929, pp. 218, 228.

Schmidt[1] have shown, the Messiah is inconceivable without a messianic community, the Church, though post-resurrection in its emergence in history, is *primary* in the growth of New Testament theology equally with those parts of the *kerygma* which we have found to be rooted in the thought of Jesus. This means that there is every justification for the view, now more widely favoured than at one time, that the Church owes its foundation to Jesus Himself.[2] His choice of twelve chief disciples, representing the number of the tribes of Israel, points to the intention to institute a new Israel to replace the old, a faithful remnant in the midst of a people which had proved its apostasy in rejecting him. The 'little flock'[3] to whom it is God's good pleasure to give the kingdom is the fulfilment of the prophecy that 'the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High'.[4] They will sit on thrones judging the new Israel.[5] While, then, the Church as an infant plant first emerged after the resurrection, the seed had been sown, and the dazzling resurrection experience was the sun which drew forth its growth.

Inseparably bound up with the genesis of the Church is the question of the Eucharist. The two cannot be treated in isolation one from the other. Here again we are confronted with an aspect of New Testament theology. It will not do to say that the Eucharist is a *secondary* element in the growth of this theology if the New Testament doctrine of the Church is based not on post-resurrection theological reflection on the implications of the ministry and death of Jesus, but on an intention of Jesus. Rather, the Last Supper was the *formal* founding of the Church.

In history, however, fulfilments are not seldom very different from intentions. The Church as it emerged and developed is the historical counterpart of a new community within Israel, the messianic community envisaged by Jesus; its weekly 'breaking of bread' is the historical fulfilment of the intention of Jesus that His followers, perhaps regarded as a kind of synagogue within Judaism,[1] should henceforth, until the reunion in the kingdom of God, celebrate the annual Passover in remembrance of the deliverance, far surpassing even that from Egypt, wrought through Him. In both these cases the resurrection is responsible for the difference between the design of Jesus and its fulfilment. It was the resurrection which, in the eyes of the primitive Church, made Jesus Lord.[2] Without this, it might well have remained a sect within Judaism distinguished by its attachment of peculiar meaning to the Passover. So, by a natural anachronism, the tradition of the Last Supper which Paul declares he has delivered to the Corinthians states that it was the *Lord* Jesus who took bread on the night of His betrayal.[3] It was the resurrection of Jesus to be the Lord on the third day which resulted in the weekly gatherings for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week, instead of an annual paschal celebration. One branch of the tradition reports that the Eucharist was based on an explicit command of Jesus.[4] Since an ordinance of this kind can only be delivered to a defined group or society, the injunction, if authentic, supports the view that Jesus consciously and deliberately founded a Church; while even if it is not, it agrees with His clear intention. This inseparability of Church and Eucharist finds further expression in the Pauline teaching on the Church as the body of Christ, which was probably suggested by the traditional Eucharistic word of Jesus, 'This is my body'.

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[1] *The Church*, 1950, p. 40, translated by J. R. Coates from Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

[2] Matt. 16.18, if not authentic, testifies to the early Church's belief in its dominical foundation. It may well be genuine, but the view which is here supported is not dependent on this verse alone.

[3] Luke 12.32.

[4] Dan. 7.27.

[5] Matt. 19.28; Luke 22.30.

When we turn to the Spirit in the New Testament the important consideration for our purpose is this. The gift of the Spirit at Pentecost is, according to the New Testament Church, a fulfilment not only of the Old Testament prophecy in Joel 2.28-32, but of a combined promise of God the Father and prophecy from the lips of the risen Lord.[5] In John 20.22 this becomes a command, and there is no interval between the resurrection appearance of the Lord and the reception of the Spirit because of the evangelist's special view of the Paraclete as the representative of Christ and as being sent by Him as well as by the Father (16.7). The gift of the Spirit came after the resurrection. It is *secondary* also in the *theological* process, because the Church *attributed* it to a prophecy of the *risen* Jesus who in His earthly days alluded, at best, very seldom to the Spirit. Yet in doing this the Church had ample justification. It was invigorated by a new influx of fervour and power; it recalled that Jesus had been divinely anointed 'with the Holy Spirit and with power'[1]; and it felt that His own operations in the power of the Spirit were such that He must surely have a say in its future activities.

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[1] K. L. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

[2] Cf. Acts 2.36; Rom. 1.4.

[3] 1 Cor. 11.23.

[4] 'Do this in remembrance of me', 1 Cor. 11.24; Luke 22.19.

[5] Luke 24.49; Acts 1.4 f; cf. Acts 2.33.

As we have seen, baptism for forgiveness of sins was offered to the hearers of the first preaching. Its Christian origin is post-resurrection, and since there is no evidence that Jesus commanded the rite of baptism, and probably did not Himself baptise,[2] we cannot place it in the category of what is *primary*, in spite of its presence in the *kerygma*. Yet Jesus was Himself baptised as the representative of His sinful people, and received the gift of the Spirit, while the recipients of baptism also received this gift with the forgiveness of their sins.[3] While, therefore, the practice of baptism is *secondary* in our sense of the term, it is intelligible why the early Church should have attributed this sacrament to a word of the risen Jesus, as in the case of the Spirit, and should have found justification for its observance in a command of the Lord.[4]

Before passing to our third main category, that of more developed theological interpretations, we may in a few words bring together the results of the discussion up to this point.

Neither are all the *primary* elements present in the *kerygma*—the Church and the Eucharist are not; nor are all the articles in the *kergyma primary* elements in New Testament theology—resurrection on the third day and the title Lord are *tertiary*, baptism is *secondary*. The Church and the Eucharist are absent from the *kerygma* because they are not kerygmatic material in the same sense as the rest of its contents, which concern the saving work of Christ. It is to be noticed, however, that the call for decision which invited men to submit to baptism did not summon them to this end purely as individuals, but that they might be 'added' to the messianic community, the Church; and the Church is the fellowship of the breaking of bread.[5] Therefore both the Church and the Eucharist, which we have seen to be *primary* despite their absence from the *kerygma*, are there implicitly in the call to baptism. On the other hand, baptism, though *secondary*, and resurrection on the third day and the title Lord, though *tertiary*, find a place in the *kerygma*. This means that while the theological ideas which still remain to be reviewed are more developed than those in the primitive preaching, there is already in the *kerygma* theological material which is the product of reflection on the meaning of the exaltation of Jesus, apprehended as resurrection to the dignity of Lordship and of messianic rule over those who are incorporated through baptism into the new Israel.

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[1] Acts 10.38.

[2] Cf. John 3.22 and 4.1 with the correction in 4.2.

[3] Acts 2.38.

[4] Matt. 28.19.

[5] Acts 2.41 f.

The New Testament doctrines of the work of Christ are constructions founded upon the primitive declaration that 'Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures'. Paul, who reports this tradition,[1] is beginning to elaborate when he declares that Jesus 'was delivered up for our trespasses and raised for our justification', or that 'he gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from the present evil age'.[2] The Pauline emphasis is throughout on the Cross and the death of Christ. His is a salvation theology viewed under different aspects. Christ wrought redemption from the hostile spiritual powers of popular belief. 'He stripped off from himself the Principalities and the Powers and made them a contemptible exhibition, when by his cross he triumphed over them'.[3] In another framework of thought Christ won redemption from sin personified as the enemy of God, and from sin's minion death.[4] Again, we receive reconciliation with God through the death of His Son (Rom. 5.10), for 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not reckoning to them their trespasses' (2 Cor. 5.19). 'Not reckoning to them their trespasses' explains what justification is, when Paul says that men are 'justified freely' by the divine grace through the redemption in Christ (Rom. 3.24)—God regards men as if they were righteous. But all this is on condition of faith in Him 'whom God put forth as an expiation by his blood' (Rom. 3.25), so that the man who is 'in Christ' is a new creation (2 Cor. 5.17).

In the Fourth Gospel the whole incarnation and life of Jesus are redemptive. As the eternal Word He brings life from God to men (1.4, 3.16), and when He dies and returns to the Father He draws those who are united with Him in faith to the new life (3.14 f). The emphasis in faith-union differs from that of Paul. Here there is nothing of sharing in Christ's sufferings. Rather it is abiding in Christ whose death is viewed primarily as the glorious climax of the incarnation. Faith-union is with the living and glorified Christ.

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[1] 1 Cor. 15.3. [2] Rom. 4.25; Gal. 1.4.

[3] Col. 2.15 as translated by C. A. Anderson Scott, *Christianity according to St. Paul*, 1927, p. 34.

[4] Rom. 8.2 f, 7.24 f.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the work of Christ is pictured as the ministrations of the unique high priest, in order to convince Jewish Christians who were in danger of relapsing into Judaism that the Jewish cult, the highest expression of religion though it was, has been superseded by Him who 'opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers'.[1]

The Pauline and Johannine teachings on the redemptive work of Christ and the appropriation of its benefits by union with Him in faith determine their different views of the sacraments. In Paul faith-union is expressed in baptism as burial with Christ in death and as resurrection with Him to a new life (Rom. 6.3-11; Col. 2.12), and in the Eucharist as a means of sharing in the dying body and blood of Christ. John does not associate faith-union with baptism, which is a new birth, but only with the Eucharist, his view of which is due to his Logos doctrine of the person and work of Christ. The Christ who in the sixth chapter offers His flesh and blood as food and drink is identical with the living Jesus of history, the Word made flesh, who feeds the crowd with loaves and fishes.

The more advanced Christologies of the New Testament all arise from the earliest post-resurrection belief in Jesus as Lord.

In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is the Word, the agent in creation.[2] 'Logos', a term in current Greek philosophical thought, was adopted in order to clothe the Gospel of the incarnation in language which would win the appreciation of educated Gentiles. But more important are its Jewish antecedents in the Old Testament creative word of God, and in its development as Wisdom in later writings which betray Greek influence, where Wisdom is a pre-existent agent in creation,[3] and the same as the Word.[4] This Christology is not peculiar to the Fourth Gospel; it is already in Paul, who calls Christ the wisdom of

[1] Cf. 6.20. [2] John 1.3, 10. [3] Prov. 8.22-31. [4] Wisd. of Sol. 9.1 f.

God and the image of God,[1] who is the agent of creation, as in John.[2] But it is in the Epistle to the Colossians that this Christology comes to fullest expression. This is not due simply to the fact that the epistle was written later than the Corinthian correspondence, at a time when the apostle might be supposed to have developed his thought in new directions, but primarily to the nature of the heresy at Colossae—an example of that strange amalgam of mystical theosophy consisting of elements from Greek philosophy and various oriental beliefs current in the Graeco-Roman world of the time, with a somewhat unusual Jewish admixture. The heretics taught the need of deliverance from the dominion of the evil powers of the material world by the worship of angels who were the way to the godhead because they were emanations from it and together made up its 'fulness' (*pleroma*). In attacking this teaching Paul both develops earlier ideas already held by him—Christ is the image of God, and the agent through whom all things were made[3]—and uses their term *pleroma* against the heretics. So far from there being a plurality of mediators between God and man, there is one only, Christ, 'in whom dwells all the fulness of the godhead bodily' (Col. 2.9).

Here Paul is on the verge of calling Christ God. But he never takes the next step. Later writers were not as cautious: the Fourth Gospel has 'my Lord and my God' (20.28); the Paulinist 'our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ' (Titus 2.13); and the latest New Testament writing 'Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ' (2 Pet. 1.1). The climax is reached in the sublime Christology of the Apocalypse which portrays Christ as the King of kings and Lord of lords (19.16), the victorious Lamb slain from the foundation of the world (5.6, 13.8).

The Fourth Gospel retains, but with a more developed emphasis, the early association of the Spirit and baptism.[4] In this Gospel the Spirit is the source of the new birth—'so is everyone that is born of the Spirit' (3.8).

Both Acts and Paul bear witness to the fact that the Eucharist, along with the whole life and activity of the Church, is under the control and direction of the Spirit. This has recently been stressed in J. E. L. Oulton's valuable book, *Holy Communion and Holy Spirit.* He writes[1]: '[Thus], though 1 Cor. 11.17-34 contains no direct reference to the Holy Spirit, St. Paul's censure of the lack of fellowship and the lack of self-discernment is a sufficient indication, especially when his teaching in other passages is remembered, that neglect to use the gift of the Holy Spirit, both corporately and individually, was at the root of the abuses which had arisen in connexion with the Sacrament.' In the Fourth Gospel, however, the part of the Spirit is explicit and is stressed here as in baptism. The incident of the issue of blood and water from the side of the crucified Jesus in John 19.34 is intended to show that both sacraments flow from the death of Christ, that both derive their efficacy from the operation of the Spirit, which is only given after the death of Christ (7.39). This is why the climax of the long eucharistic section comes in the declaration of Jesus that the flesh in itself is of no avail; it is the Spirit which gives life (6.63). Eating the flesh of the Son of man is necessary for eternal life; but it is flesh vivified by the Spirit, just as it was not the flesh of the incarnate Word as flesh which was effective, but the Word which had become flesh.

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[1] 1 Cor. 1.24; 2 Cor. 4.4.

[2] 1 Cor. 8.6.

[3] Col. 1.15-17. A similar Christology is held by the unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; see 1.2 f.

[4] e.g. Acts 2.38; 1 Cor. 6.11, 12.13.

In attempting to distinguish the *primary* from the *secondary* and *tertiary* elements in New Testament theology, we see that, broadly speaking, the last are interpretations of the first two. It is possible to differentiate between the primitive contents of the first preaching and subsequent theological elaboration. But the presence of theological interpretation in the *kerygma* itself in the articles concerning resurrection on the third day and the title Lord, warns us against too hard and fast a distinction between the primitive and the theological. That Jesus was raised from the dead on the third day to be the Lord of the Church is the theological centre and core of the preaching from the very beginning.

Here we may conclude this necessarily very far from complete survey of the growth of theology in the New Testament. It reached the length of calling Christ God, and it expressed the experience of the divine activity which was such as to suggest a trinity in the godhead, in language which gave the impetus to those later metaphysical speculations which all too often obscured, instead of illuminating, the theology of the New Testament.

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[1] p. 58.

ST. MARK 13

by THE REV. C. E. B. CRANFIELD

PART I (*continued*)

3. JESUS' ANSWER (vv. 5-37)

Jesus' answer, which takes up the rest of the chapter, falls quite naturally into three divisions: vv. 5-23, 24-27, and 28-37.

(*i*) Vv. 5-23

It is very hard to find an altogether satisfactory single title for this section. We might call it *The End is not yet*; for Jesus is certainly warning His disciples that much has still to happen before the consummation of all things. They were, apparently, like people who 'wish to reap the harvest before the season arrives', inclined to 'confound the perfection of Christ's reign with the commencement of it'.[1] So they needed to be warned that 'the end is not yet' (v. 7) and that they must resist the deceivers who would be only too ready to play on their impatience. Or we might with equal fairness entitle this section *The Characteristics of the Last Times*, i.e., of the time between the Incarnation and the Parousia; for that is what we have here. Jesus warns His disciples what they are to expect during the time before the End. Or again, we might call it, as Roux does,[2] *The Signs of the End*; for these characteristic marks of the time before the End are also signs which point to the End. Though not to be mistaken for the End, they are nevertheless eloquent of it.[3]

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[1] Calvin, op. cit., p. 118.

[2] op. cit., p. 280, with reference to the Matthew parallel.

[3] We must distinguish carefully between phrases, on the one hand, which refer to the last times: 'the beginning of travail' (v. 8), 'those days' (vv. 17, 19, 24), 'the days' (v. 20), with which cf. 'the last days' (Acts 2.17, 2 Tim. 3.1, 2 Pet. 3.3. and probably Jas. 5.3), 'at the end of these days' (Heb. 1.2), 'the end of the ages' (Heb. 9.26), 'at the end of the times' (1 Pet. 1.20), 'the last time' (Jude 18), 'the last hour' (1 John 2.18), and, on the other hand, phrases which refer to the End itself: 'the end' (v. 7), 'that day' (singular) (v. 32), 'that hour' (v. 32), 'the time' (v. 33—καιρός), the actual arrival of the lord of the house (vv. 35 f), 'then' (in vv. 26 f but not in vv. 14 or 21), with which cf. 'thy coming and the end of the world' (Matt. 24.3), 'that day' (Matt. 7.22, etc.), 'the day of the Lord, that great and notable day')Acts 2.20), 'the day of the Lord' (2 Thess. 2.2), 'the day' (Rom.

The first of these signs of the End is the presence of *deceivers* and the possibility of the disciples of Jesus being led astray. Throughout the last times they will be liable to seduction. So they are to be on their guard. The first part of v. 6 defines more precisely the nature of this peril of seduction: *πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι*—which is probably best taken to mean: 'Many shall come arrogating to themselves the name and prerogatives of Messiah, which by right are Mine, and claiming to be Messiah.'[1] Roux remarks that, as the danger of the traveller being deceived by a mirage is the greater, the more eagerly he looks for an oasis, so the very fact that the Church is awaiting the Parousia makes the danger of its being deceived by false Messiahs all the greater.[2] All those who attribute to themselves the power to redeem men and who draw men's trust and allegiance away from Jesus to themselves fall into this category of false Messiahs, of which there is an almost infinite variety.

The second characteristic of the last times is *sufferings*. Vv.7 f deal with sufferings common to all men—wars, rumours of

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13.12), 'the last time' (1 Pet. 1.5—*καιρός*), 'the end of all things' (1 Pet. 4.7), 'the last day' (freq. in John).

[1] *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου* would most naturally mean (*a*) 'appealing to me as their authority', 'claiming to be sent by me', but it could also mean (*b*) 'arrogating to themselves the title of Messiah which by right belongs to me' (the interpretation of most commentators, including Schniewind, and supported by Bietenhardt in *TWzNT*, V, p. 276, n. 224—article on *ὄνομα*). According to (*a*) the many are false teachers claiming to speak in Jesus' name; according to (*b*) they are false claimants to the Messiahship. The words *λέγοντες ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι* are also ambiguous. They could mean (α) 'saying, "I am" '—i.e. claiming to be Messiah (cf. John 4.26 and Matthew's addition of *ὁ Χριστός* here), with probably also the idea of claiming divine authority (cf. Exod. 3.14; Deut. 32.39; Isa. 41.4, 43.10). Perhaps the sense of Zeph. 2.15 might also be included; (β) 'saying, "It is I" '—similar to above, but stress on idea of the Messiah's presence; (γ) 'saying that it is I'—i.e. saying that I (Jesus) am come, or as Dr W. Manson puts it, 'the Christ is come, the Parousia has arrived' ('The *ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ* of the Messianic Presence in the New Testament' in *JTS*, 48, pp. 137-45). Professor Manson appeals to 2 Thess. 2.2 for support; (δ) 'saying that I (Jesus) am (the Christ)'—ruled out, because to say this would not be deceiving; (ε) 'saying that it is I'—in the sense that the false ones will claim actually to be Jesus. Of these meanings some are certainly most unlikely. We judge the most probable combination to be (*b*) and (α); but it is with reluctance that we reject Professor Manson's combination of (*a*) and (γ) on the ground of the doubtful possibility of (γ) and the presence of the Matt. gloss. Lohmeyer (op. cit., p. 270) combines (*a*) and (α), which Dr Manson regards as mutually exclusive, but which Lohmeyer explains as meaning that the deceivers will preach themselves under cover of preaching Christ—an attractive suggestion but probably not as likely as the combination (*b*) and (α). See further Dr Taylor's useful note (p. 503 f): his conclusion 'that *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου* is a "Christian" addition to a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source' we judge to be unnecessary.

[2] op. cit., p. 283.

wars, earthquakes, famines.[1] When the disciples hear news of war or of the threat of war, they are not to be inwardly disturbed[2]; for these things fall within the eschatological purpose of God, a purpose which includes judgment as well as salvation. The phrase δεῖ γενέσθαι ('must needs come to pass') is characteristic of apocalyptic: it occurs in the LXX in Dan. 2.28, 29, 45, and is taken up in Rev. 1.1, 4.1, 22.6. For δεῖ referring to a necessity beyond human comprehension, grounded in the will of God, a use highly characteristic of the NT, we should compare Mark 8.31, 9.11, 13.10; Luke 24.7, 26; John 20.9; Acts 3.21; 1 Cor. 15.25, 53; 2 Cor. 5.10, etc.[3] But in spite of the occurrence of wars and cold wars 'the end is not yet'.[4] These things do not constitute a sign that the End is just round the corner; and the disciples of Jesus are warned against giving heed to sensational rumours that the Parousia is upon them. Christ wished, says Calvin, 'to restrain the apostles, who were disposed to fly with excessive eagerness to the possession of the heavenly glory, and to show them the necessity of patience'.[5] The words 'but the end is not yet' must be set alongside those other NT passages which point to the nearness of the End. We then see the paradoxical nature of the NT expectation. About this we shall have something to say in Part II.

Wars, earthquakes, and famines are 'the beginning of travail'. Matthew underlines the sentence by his addition of the word 'all'. The word 'beginning' implies that there is plenty more to follow and that the sufferings will get worse. These things are only the beginning. But 'travail' points forward. Though 'these things' do not mean that the End is come, they do point to it and are a pledge of it. To the eye of faith they are full of promise. 'To understand aright the significance of the metaphor, one must remember what motherhood meant for the Jewish woman. Without it her life was robbed of its goal and substance. The beginning of travail marked the end of the disgrace that rested on the childless woman, the approaching fulfilment of her strongest desire. It begins with grievous pains, but these pains are to her the promise of that for which she has waited with longing. Even so do the sufferings that come upon the disciples point to the end of the disgrace, which at present rests on them, through the fulfilment of the hope which gives their life its meaning.'[1]

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[1] For parallels to the reff. to wars, earthquakes, famines, see Taylor, op. cit., p. 505, and Str.-B., I, 949 f, IV, 977 ff (Excursus: *Vorzeichen und Berechnung der Tage des Messias*).

[2] On θροεῖσθε see Taylor, op. cit., p. 505.

[3] Cf. W. Grundmann's enlightening article on δεῖ in *TWzNT*, II, pp. 21-5, and also Schniewind, op. cit., p. 168.

[4] τέλος is the equivalent of *qets*, which in Dan. 12.4, 13 is rendered by συντελεια in the LXX. Strack-Billerbeck, I, p. 949 f, point out that pre-Christian Judaism expected the Messiah to bring in the aeon of final fulfilment, or, to use the later terminology, identified the days of Messiah with the 'age to come', so that 'the end' means the end of the present age and the breaking in of the 'age to come'; whereas later Judaism distinguished between the days of Messiah and the eschatological age to come, so that 'the end' then referred to the coming of Messiah, but no longer to the breaking in of the final age to come.

[5] op. cit., p. 130.

Vv. 9-13 speak of sufferings peculiar to the disciples—of persecution. 'It is painful and distressing enough in itself', says Calvin, 'that the children of God should be afflicted in such a manner as not to be distinguished from the reprobate and despisers of God, and should be subjected to the same punishments which those men endure on account of their crimes; and it appears to be still more unjust that they should be severely oppressed by grievous calamities from which the ungodly are exempted. But as wheat, after having been beaten by the flail along with the chaff, is pressed down and bruised by the millstone, so God not only afflicts His children in common with the ungodly, but subdues them by the cross even beyond others, so that we might be apt to think them more unhappy than the rest of mankind.'[2] The disciples of Jesus, regarded by their fellow Jews as apostates from Judaism, would be brought before the councils of local synagogues and subjected to the public scourging which was the synagogue punishment for the disobedient and heretical.[3] But their Jewish persecutors would not rest content with scourging; they would have recourse to governors and kings who had the power of life and death.[4]

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[1] Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 699. Strack-Billerbeck, I, 950, think that the Rabbinical term 'the birth-pang of the Messiah' was already current in the time of Jesus. It means not sufferings of the Messiah, but sufferings preceding His coming. The origin of the expression is to be seen in such passages as Isa. 27.17; 66.8; Jer. 22.23; Hos. 13.13; Mic. 4.9 f. With one doubtful exception, the word for birth-pang is always in the singular in this expression, but the Greek *ὠδίν* is mostly used in the plural. For the use of this image in NT cf. John 16.21; 1 Thess. 5.3; Rev. 12.2. The first of these well illustrates the meaning here. For the general meaning cf. Luke. 21.28.

[2] op. cit., p. 123 f.

[3] Cf. Schlatter, op. cit., p. 338, who refers to Deut. 25.2 f and jNedar 37b; also *Die Evv. nach Markus und Lukas*, p. 129. For the punctuation of *παραδώσουσιν . . . δαρήσεσθε* see Taylor, op. cit., p. 506.

[4] Though it is possible that under the Romans the Jewish authorities *did* have

The phrase 'for a testimony unto them' (εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς) is much more difficult than it looks. Dr Taylor refers to the question whether we should place the stop after αὐτοῖς or, five words later, after ἔθνη (which is supported by Matt. 10.18) and mentions the MS. evidence in favour of placing it after ἔθνη (the reading δέ after πρῶτον). He also notes: 'The phrase is variously interpreted as meaning "it will give you an opportunity to bear witness" (cf. Rawlinson, p. 185) and "a testimony against them", that is, against the Jews (cf. Turner, p. 64).' But he does not seem to have taken into account Professor Strathmann's important and interesting article on μάρτυς, etc., in *TWzNT*, IV, pp. 477-520. According to Strathmann, μαρτύριον (unlike μαρτυρία) does not signify the act (*Vorgang*) of bearing witness, and refers less to the content of the witness than to the fact that the witness in question, whether it be an object, an occurrence (*Vorgang*), or an utterance, is used as a piece of evidence. This is always the case in the NT, he maintains, when εἰς μαρτύριον is used with the dative of the person for whom the witness is of significance—i.e., incriminating significance. So in Jas. 5.3 the rust on the rich men's gold, which shows that they prefer to let their possessions be ruined than to use them for charitable purposes, will be incriminating evidence against them at the Judgment. Mark 6.11 is similarly interpreted: the fact that the disciples parted from these people with this gesture will be evidence against their unbelief at the Judgment (here Luke's ἐπ' αὐτούς is regarded as making the point clearer). So too Mark 1.44 is taken to mean that, if healing is accepted by the priest as established, then that will be devastating evidence (cf. Matt. 11.20-24) of the people's unbelief. Of our passage and the Matthew parallel (10.18) Strathmann says: 'In the context μαρτύριον can by no means be understood to refer to the wooing witness of missionary preaching, which offered the opportunity of conversion. This witness has only the object of proving the opponents' guilt.'[1] Only Luke has given the saying a different meaning (21.13)—that the disciples'

the right to condemn to death. See Schniewind, op. cit., p. 192, R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd edn.), p. 312 f.

[1] op. cit., p. 507. He thinks that εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς 'looks secondary and rather like an attempt to prepare the way for the insertion of 10'. As to the question of punctuation, Lohmeyer (p. 272) is probably right in thinking that the introduction of δέ or γάρ after ἔθνη, so as to connect καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη with v. 9 'ist deutlich Glättung'.

being brought before rulers will give them opportunities to bear witness. In Matt. 24.14, Strathmann thinks, the words εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ('for a testimony unto all the nations') cannot mean 'so that they may be given an opportunity to believe' after v. 9*b*, but must refer to the evidence which damns.[1]

It is no light matter to contradict a judgment based on such *Gründlichkeit* as Strathmann's article displays and supported by so great an expositor as Schlatter[2]; but there is a good deal in Strathmann's own article that encourages us to question his opinion on Mark 13.9; Matt. 10.18, 24.14—for example, what he says about Isa. 43.9-13, 44.7-11 (pp. 486-8), about μαρτύριον in Isa. 55.4 (p. 488), about the Lukan use of μάρτυς (pp. 495-8), and about the Johannine use of μαρτυρέω and μαρτυρία (pp. 502-4, 505-8). We would suggest that it is doubtful whether we can do justice to the phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς in Mark 13.9 if we insist on choosing between the two interpretations, *either* 'as a testimony to them' (i.e. addressed to them with a view to their conversion) *or* 'as a testimony against them' (i.e. your sufferings at their hands will be evidence against them at the Judgment). Rather should we allow for the various ideas which may be involved in the witness-imagery. There is first the idea of the witness called on behalf of God. In Isa. 43.9-13, 44.7-11, we have a trial-scene, in which God's people are called as witnesses to His reality, power, etc., while the heathen are to be witnesses on behalf of their gods and also, it seems, to judge the case. This is surely the primary idea, concentrating attention as it does on the truth and glory of God. The Christian's witness is first of all testimony to God's truth and goodness and grace. In the second place, there is the idea that this testimony is addressed to men and is a challenge to them to believe in the God to whom witness is being borne; it is aimed at their conversion and salvation. In its direction towards men it can be rightly called 'the wooing witness of missionary preaching'. In the third place, this witness, if refused, becomes an accusing thing, for it makes those to whom it is addressed without excuse (cf. Matt. 11.20-24). These three ideas should in this passage surely be held together rather than set against each other as alternatives.

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[1] Strathmann supports his argument by two quotations from Ignatius (Trall. 12.3; Philad. 6.3) in which εἰς μαρτύριον occurs (p. 509, n. 77).

[2] *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, pp. 339, 702; *Die Evv. nach Markus und Lukas*, p. 130. Lohmeyer (p. 272) also takes the original meaning to be 'Zeugnis wider sie'—'Das Leiden für Ihn ist gleichsam das offenbarende Gottesurteil über ihre Gottlosigkeit'. But he thinks that by adding v. 10, which according to him breaks the continuity between vv. 9 and 11, Mark has altered the sense of the last three words of v. 9, so that now μαρτύριον is made to signify the preaching of the Gospel.

So, accepting Strathmann's contention that μαρτύριον signifies a piece of evidence (*Beweismittel*) rather than an act of giving evidence or witnessing, we suggest that the meaning here is threefold: first, that the disciples' profession of Christ before the tribunals of governors and kings will be a piece of evidence for the truth of the Gospel (cf. Calvin ad loc.: '. . . Christ means that His gospel will be so much the more fully attested, when they have defended it at the risk of their lives . . . their unshaken constancy . . . was . . . an authentic seal of the gospel . . .')[1]; secondly, it will be a piece of evidence for the truth of the Gospel offered to their persecutors (αὐτοῖς probably including both the governors and kings, who 'from their social position might otherwise have failed to hear'[2] the Gospel, and also the disciples' Jewish persecutors); and thirdly, if the evidence for the truth of the Gospel which this courageous profession of Christ's name presents is not accepted by the persecutors and judges, then at the final judgment it will be evidence against them (they will be without excuse, having witnessed such evidence for the truth of the Gospel—and perhaps also because of the suffering they inflicted on the disciples).[3]

The critical questions that arise concerning v. 10 (whether it is an interpolation by Mark into his source, and, if so, whether it is an authentic though separate saying of our Lord, or a sentence made up by Mark or perhaps in the Church, and, if so, whether it truly expresses the mind of Jesus in the days of His earthly life, or not) we shall leave to Part II. As it stands in our text, it appears to be a parenthesis between vv. 9 and 11-13, and clearly means that before the End comes the Gospel must (the δεῖ here being similar in significance to the δεῖ in v. 7) be proclaimed to all the nations[4]; but the interpretation of 'be

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[1] op. cit., p. 124 f.

[2] Swete, op. cit., p. 301.

[3] We argue for an inclusive rather than exclusive interpretation in Mark 13.9 and Matt. 10.18, but that is without prejudice to the interpretation of the other passages mentioned by Strathmann.

[4] For the suggestion that τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων in 2 Thess. 2.6 f are to be explained by reference to Mark 13.10 see O. Cullmann, *Christus und die Zeit*, pp. 138-47.

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preached' (κηρυχθῆναι) has been questioned. It has, of course, usually been understood to refer to the missionary preaching of the disciples. But Lohmeyer thinks it refers to an apocalyptic proclamation of the Gospel from heaven. He says: 'The verse speaks of a divine necessity to proclaim the Gospel; here it is not, as the δεῖ shows, an historical task of believing missionaries, but a moment of the apocalyptic drama.'[1] He thinks this is more clearly indicated by Matt. 24.14, and he compares Rev. 14.6 f ('And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people; and he saith with a great voice, Fear God, and give him glory; for the hour of his judgment is come . . . ') and also Col. 1.23; 1 Tim. 3.16. Another question which overlaps this is whether the purpose of this proclamation is to convert the nations or merely to seal their doom—a similar question to that which we have already encountered with regard to the previous verse.

There is little in the NT use of κηρύσσω, as far as the present writer can see, to support Lohmeyer's contention that an apocalyptic angelic proclamation is referred to. Of the eleven [+2] other occurrences of this word in Mark two refer to the Baptist's preaching, three to Jesus' preaching, two to the preaching of the apostles during Jesus' own ministry, three to healed persons spreading the news of what Jesus had done for them, one is 14.9 [and the two occurrences in 16.9-20 refer to the apostles' preaching]. None of these lends any support to the notion that 13.10 refers to an angelic proclamation. 14.9, which is close to 13.10 in content, can hardly be supposed to mean that such an apocalyptic angelic proclamation would include the story of the anointing.[2] Nor does Lohmeyer's appeal to the use of δεῖ prove his point. That δεῖ specially refers to the eschatological purposes of God may readily be agreed. But anyway the missionary preaching of the apostles and after them of the Christian Church *is* an eschatological event—that this is the view of the NT there can be little doubt.[1] The word δεῖ is used of Jesus' death that He must endure: that is eschatological, but not apocalyptic. Moreover, there is an OT background to the words *μαρτύριον, ἔθνη, κηρύσσω,* and *εὐαγγέλιον* which ought not to be overlooked and which, we think, strongly supports the reference of *κηρυχθῆναι* to the disciples' proclamation of the Gospel (by preaching confirmed by their life and endurance of persecution) and also the view that its purpose was the conversion of the hearers, not merely their condemnation. We refer to the latter part of the book of Isaiah, which is clearly of the utmost importance for the understanding of the NT. Our conclusion is that the meaning of 13.10 and also of Matt. 24.14[2] is that it is part of God's eschatological purpose that before the End all nations shall have an opportunity to hear the Gospel and that the disciples of Jesus are here entrusted with the task of proclaiming it. The End is not yet (so v. 7 has already told us); and the interim period is the period of God's patience during which the nations are summoned to repentance and faith. It has for its content the Church's mission to the world. That does not mean that the world will get steadily more Christian or that the End will not come till all men are converted. It is a promise that the Gospel shall be preached, not that it must necessarily be believed. So we may say that here we have yet another characteristic of the last times, that is also a pointer to the End, namely the disciples' *witness* and evangelistic mission.

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[1] op. cit., p. 272. He goes on to say: 'Wenn Mk den Spruch hier eingefügt hat, so kennt er sichtlich nur die Art der Evangeliumsverkündung, die in dem μαρτύριον vor Gericht besteht und in den Reden des Petrus Act 4.8-21 oder des Stephanus Act 7.1-53 dargestellt ist. Noch lebt die Gemeinde wie verborgen und harrt in Stille des kommenden Herrn; erst die Wehen des Endes reissen sie zur offenen Verkündung heraus.'

[2] But on 14.9 see J. Jeremias, 'The Gentile World in The Thought of Jesus' in Bulletin III of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 1952, p. 21 f.

V. 11 refers back to v. 9. God will not leave the disciples to meet their dangers and difficulties in the strength of their own poor resources. When they have to stand their trials, they are not to be anxious about how to answer for themselves, because God will give them in the hour of their need the word to speak. Anxiety would be useless; it is also unnecessary. It is useless because they cannot deliver themselves from their dangers; it is unnecessary because God will be with them. As God had promised Moses: 'I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak'[3] and Jeremiah: 'Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth',[1] so now Jesus promises His disciples that God will *give* them the word to speak to their judges. They are to rely on His promise and to speak what is given to them. The second half of the verse further draws out the meaning of this promise by reference to the Holy Spirit. We can leave to Part II the critical question whether the Markan, Matthaean or Lukan form is the most primitive, and take the text of Mark as we find it. The promise that God will give them the word to speak can be expressed another way: God will give them the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit will speak through them.

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[1] Cf. G. Friedrich in *TWzNT,* II, 726.

[2] NB how the Matthaean 'and then shall the end come' interprets the Markan 'first'.

[3] Exod. 4.12.

Perhaps the hardest part of what the disciples will have to face will be the breaking of the ties of natural affection: 'brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death.'[2] The motive may be a fanatical hatred of Christianity, or it may be, as Matt. 24.10 seems rather to suggest, craven fear and the hope to save oneself by betraying others, or even the delator's sordid hope of gain. Jesus' disciples will be the objects of a universal hatred.[3] They must not be surprised at that; it is to be expected. And forewarned is, at any rate to some extent, forearmed. But these sufferings will not be without their comfort. The comfort is expressed in the words 'for my name's sake'. Lagrange quotes the noble words of Victor: 'But the comfort is greater: for all these things will happen for His name's sake—which alone is sufficient to lighten every affliction.'[4]

These sufferings will be a testing of the disciples. That is implied by v. 13*b*. In fact the testing includes the seducings, wars, rumours of wars, earthquakes, famines, as well as the persecutions and hatred. Through all this the Church will be tested. And *testing* is yet another characteristic of the last times and a pointer to the End. By this testing many will be offended

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[1] Jer. 1.9.

[2] Cf. Matt. 10.34-36; Luke 12.51-53. Based on Micah 7.6. See also Str.-B. I, 951 for Jewish parallel. This and also the hatred referred to in the next verse are features of Jewish *Vorzeichen* of the Messianic age.

[3] Cf. Matt. 5.11 f, 10.22; John 15.18-20, 16.33; 1 John 3.13; 1 Pet. 4.12. The late Archbishop Temple said wisely: 'Not all that the world hates is good Christianity; but it does hate good Christianity and always will' (*Readings in St. John's Gospel*, complete edn., p. 271 f).

[4] His Greek is: *ἀλλὰ μείζων ἡ παράκλησις. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πάντα ταῦτα συμβήσεται· ὅπερ μόνον ἱκανὸν πᾶσαν ἐπικουφίσαι τὴν συμφοράν.* Lagrange, op. cit., p. 339.

(so Matt. 24.10 adds), many will be deceived, many will have their love grow cold; but there will be some who will endure to the end.[1] Blessed are they!

The disciples' question in v. 4 (if we understood it correctly) brought into connexion with one another two things—the destruction of the Temple and the End of all things. They were apparently thinking of the former as immediately preceding and heralding the latter. That Jesus refers to the End in vv. 24-27 is clear. It is also clear that in vv. 5-8 He distinguishes between the End and various historical events. But what about vv. 14-20? Do they refer to an eschatological or to an historical event, or are the historical and eschatological mingled together? And, supposing the last alternative is right, is Jesus then identifying an approaching historical event (a disaster about to befall the Temple and Jerusalem) with the End—or at least regarding it as the immediate prelude to the End? Or is it rather that the eschatological is seen as it were through the medium of an approaching historical crisis, the historical catastrophe being regarded as foreshadowing the final convulsion (without necessarily implying that there will not be other such crises before the End)? In discussing these verses the present writer is painfully aware that he can only be extremely tentative. Here it will probably be wise to refrain as far as possible from the citation of authorities; for it would be extremely difficult, while keeping to the method adopted in this study (of leaving questions of critical analysis until after the attempt has been made to expound the passage as it stands as a whole and in its context), to cite with regard to these particular verses the opinions of scholars who have worked the opposite way round, without either being unfair or else unduly cumbersome.

Luke 21.20-24 might encourage us to take these verses to refer simply to an approaching historical catastrophe; for Luke, writing after the events of A.D. 66-70, clearly regards them as a fulfilment of Jesus' words in Mark 13.14-20. Moreover, it can certainly be argued that, while there is nothing in these Markan verses that is absolutely incompatible with the reference to an approaching war, there is much in them that fits such a reference excellently. On the other hand, 2 Thess. 2.3-10 strongly supports the identification of 'the abomination of desolation' with Antichrist, and the curious masculine ἑστηκότα ('standing') in the same verse is perhaps additional support for this interpretation. In view of this evidence we would suggest that neither an exclusively historical nor an exclusively eschatological interpretation is satisfactory. Rather must we allow for a double reference,[1] the historical and eschatological being mingled together. We do not think that this mingling is to be explained by supposing that 'an apocalyptic interpretation has been superimposed on the tradition' by the early Church and that Jesus' original words are 'seen through an apocalyptic haze'.[2] Nor do we think that the only possible sense of the verses is that Jesus was simply identifying the disaster soon to befall Jerusalem with the immediate prelude to His Parousia. We suggest that, while the eschatological and the historical are here being deliberately brought into relation to each other, there is also discernible a certain restraint, which stops short of a direct identification. Historical and eschatological are not only being brought together; they are also at the same time being held apart! Thus room is left for the possibility that the approaching ruin of Jerusalem may be followed by other crises before the End comes.

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[1] The word τελος is used here in a different sense from that which it has in v. 7. It does not mean here the End in the eschatological sense, and this verse must not be cited in support of the idea that Jesus or the early Church expected the End to come before the first generation of believers had died. The word here is rather the equivalent of *aus-* in the German *ausharren* or 'out' in the phrase 'stick it out', and the reference is to the end of a particular disciple's life rather than to *the* End. Taylor says it 'describes an endurance which is complete'. He agrees that it is improbable that it is used of 'the End' (p. 510).

At this point we must look at the phrase 'the abomination of desolation'. It occurs in the LXX version of Dan. 12.11 in exactly the same form as here—τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (Hebrew: *shiqquts shomem*). Cf. Dan. 9.27 (βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων), 11.31; 1 Macc. 1.54 (βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως). The basic idea of *shiqquts*—βδέλυγμα in the Bible is that of being detestable to God and rejected by Him, particularly with reference to heathen gods and articles connected with them.[3] The significance of the use of τῆς ἐρημώσεως (equivalent to the Hebrew participle *shomem*) to qualify it is that the abominable thing causes the Temple to be deserted, the pious worshippers avoiding the Temple on its account.[1] That in Dan. 12.11 the reference is to the heathen altar set up by Antiochus Epiphanes over the altar of burnt-offering in the Temple in 168 B.C. is generally agreed (cf. 1 Macc. 1.54, 59, 6.7). Jesus' ? or Mark's use of the phrase here implies that for Him the meaning of the prophecy was not exhausted by the events of the Maccabean times; it still had a future reference.[2] But we are not to ask whether by 'the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not' Jesus meant the entry of the Romans into the Temple, or the setting up of the Emperor's statue or a cult-image or picture in the Temple, or the horrible deeds done there when it became a battlefield of the different parties before its capture. It is necessary to protest against the way in which people tend to talk about Jesus referring to the events of A.D. 66-70; for to speak in this way implies either that these words are simply a *vaticinium ex eventu* or 'that Jesus had the same idea of prophecy as we find among the rabbis and apocalyptists, according to which the prophet is transported into God's omniscience. If the prediction flows down into the prophet out of the divine omniscience, then of course there are for him no mysteries, no limitations of his foresight, and it is then sensible for the expositor to endeavour to discover the events which are half revealed, half veiled, by his word.'[3] Schlatter is surely right in maintaining that Jesus' understanding of prophecy was not this. Mark 13.32 is sufficient evidence that Jesus did not regard Himself as participating in the divine omniscience or seeing the future mapped out in detail before Him. Rather was He content to abide by the Scripture and by His certainty of God's righteousness and mercy, of His own mission, of the guilt of Israel which was rejecting Him, and of the mission of His disciples. 'What was certain for Him,' continues Schlatter, 'was that Daniel spoke of a profanation of the Temple, that would cause it to be deserted. There would take place within it something that would be the very opposite of λατρεία, of the worship of God, and which would cause the whole glory of the Temple to perish. How it would happen was not revealed either by the prophet or his expositors, but would only be made manifest by the actual event.'[1]

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[1] Cf. K. Hennig's phrase 'das Doppelte der Schau' (*Das Markus-evangelium*, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 112).

[2] Taylor, op. cit., p. 642.

[3] Cf. W. Foerster in *TWzNT*, I, p. 599.

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[1] Cf. G. Kittel in *TWzNT*, II, p. 657.

[2] Cf. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 703. He adds: 'In dieser Deutung war Jesus mit dem Rabbinat eins und die zelotische Bewegung arbeitete vermutlich ebenfalls stark mit Daniel.'

[3] ibid.

Jesus saw that His people were threatened by God's judgment. For the very reason that they were the people of God, their sin was far greater and their punishment would be far more dreadful than that of the heathen. That is perhaps the meaning of v. 19. Luke rightly recognised in the events of the years 66-70 a fulfilment of Jesus' words; but it was not a fulfilment without remainder. The significance of the Lord's words was not exhausted by the ruin of the Temple and Holy City. Antichrist was indeed present in the fierce nationalism of the Jews and the pride of Rome, and thus incarnate stood 'where he ought not', that is, in God's Temple. But there was more to come. The new Israel like the old would be sinful and would again and again be menaced by divine judgment, and Antichrist would again and again embody himself in proud and sacrilegious men. Thus in the crises of history the eschatological is foreshadowed. The divine judgments in history are, so to speak, rehearsals of the last judgment and the successive incarnations of Antichrist are foreshadowings of the last supreme concentration of the rebelliousness of the devil before the End.[2] The following words of Karl Heim are, I think, suggestive: 'But all this [i.e. the destruction of Jerusalem and the events connected with it] is for Him only a *Transparent* standing in the foreground, through which He beholds the last events before the End of the world, in which all this will at last come to its real fulfilment.'[3] Thus the fulfilment of vv. 14-20 is for us past, present and future, and these verses are rightly included under the heading 'Signs of the End or Characteristics of the Last Times'.[4]

Both the last supreme effort of the power of evil and also the various historical crises which foreshadow that final convulsion will be marked by the presence and activity of false Messiahs and false prophets.[1] It would be nice, if we could limit the relevance of vv. 21-23 to Jewish messianic pretenders and the fanatics who declared that God must save Jerusalem; but the significance of Jesus' words is again not exhausted by the tragic events of A.D. 66-70 (or 132-135). They have found further fulfilment in political messianisms both in the past and in our own days, and even within the Church false messianism is to be found, as, for instance, when denominational fathers are accorded an excessive reverence so that men's attention is drawn away from Christ. Of false prophets there never seems to be a scarcity. King Ahab's four hundred court prophets always have successors ready to say what the government wants to hear, and there are always plenty to say 'Peace, peace; when there is no peace', to gloss over the sins of the people of God and make their heart fat with complacence.

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[1] ibid. Cf. his *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, p. 355. And reference may also be made back to pp. 189-93 of this vol. of *SJT*.

[2] Cf. 2 Thess. 2.6 f, where we have, on the one hand, 'the mystery of lawlessness doth already work' and, on the other, 'that he may be revealed in his own season'.

[3] *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes* (Stuttgart, 1948), p. 55 f.

[4] For reasons of space we shall not attempt to discuss the details of these verses here. Some of them will have to be discussed in Part II. For the rest, the present writer hopes at a later date to produce a commentary on this Gospel.

One characteristic of the false Messiahs and false prophets is specially mentioned. Unlike the true Messiah, they will not be at all reluctant to show signs and wonders.[2] They will appeal to outwardly spectacular results and exploit to the full the natural craving of the disciples to escape from the painful paradoxes and tensions and indirectness of faith into the comfortable security of sight.[3] Here is good reason why the Church should be suspicious of arguments from outward impressiveness.[4] 'Behold, I have told you all things beforehand', says Jesus—in other words, the Church has been warned! (This is no claim to have provided His disciples with a detailed map of the future.)

(*ii*) Vv. 24-27

Vv. 24 and 25 speak of cosmic signs immediately heralding the Parousia. The ideas and the language are derived from the OT. 'In those days' (though not italicised by Huck's *Synopsis*) is an OT stereotyped expression with eschatological associations—see Jer. 3.16, 18, 31.29, 33.15 f; Joel 3.1; Zech. 8.23, etc. For the words 'the sun' down to the end of v. 25 see Isa. 13.10, 34.4, and cf. Isa. 24.23; Joel 2.30 f, 3.15; Amos 8.9;

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[1] Vv. 21-23 and 5 f are perhaps variants of the same saying.

[2] See Matt. 4.5-7; Mark 8.11 f; Matt. 12.39; 16.4; Luke 11.29; Mark 15.32.

[3] In v. 22 the A.V. translation, 'if *it were* possible' might give the impression that it is implied that they will necessarily fail. The R.V. more correctly suggests a real danger.

[4] Cf. *SJT*, 5, p. 65 f.

Ezek. 32.7 f.[1] That this is picture-language which we must not attempt to compress into a literal interpretation should go without saying. It is meant to indicate what cannot be expressed in ordinary human language. The words 'after that tribulation' are probably best explained (with Calvin) as 'a general recapitulation of all the evils of which Christ had previously spoken'.[2] The Church will have passed through the 'whole course of its tribulations'[3] before the occurrence of these celestial signs.

The 'then' of v. 26 is the final eschatological 'then'—the End itself as opposed to the signs of the End. The End-event is the coming in glory of Him, 'who at that time was living on earth in the garb of a despised servant',[4] the manifestation of that kingship of Christ which has all along been a reality. 'The veil of His invisibility, which was responsible for all the distress of the Church, will be dropped.'[5] 'Then shall they *see*. . . .' Throughout the period between the Ascension and the Parousia His disciples must 'walk by faith, not by sight',[6] but 'then' that painful not-seeing will be ended.[7] The Messianic veiledness will at last be altogether done away. Not only the disciples, but all men are included in that 'they shall see'.

In vv. 26 f, as in the two previous verses, Jesus uses OT language. Schlatter draws attention rightly to the characteristic restraint and humility of Jesus in thus keeping within the bounds of Scripture.[8]

V. 27 tells us the reason for His coming back to this earth. 'Jesus does not here speak of the renewing of the world. . . . To one thing only does He direct the disciples' attention, to that which is for them the main thing, namely the gathering of the congregation, which ensues, when the angels shall gather the bride-congregation from all four winds, from the uttermost part of earth to the uttermost part of heaven, that is, from all the world, in order to unite them with their Lord.'[1] That is the goal—that they may be united to Him, whom they have loved.

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[1] Strack and Billerbeck (I.955) compare 4 Ezra 4.51 ff; Apoc. Bar. 25.1 ff; Orac. Sib. 3.796 ff; Enoch 80.2 ff, 102.2. They say: 'In der rabbinischen Literatur scheinen trotz alttestamentlichen Vorlagen wie Jes. 24.23; Joel 3.4, 4.15 [EVV: 2.31, 3.15] Veränderungen in der Sternenwelt nicht als Vorzeichen des Endes gedeutet zu werden.' Taylor (518) cites in addition Ass. Mos. 10.5.

[2] Calvin, op. cit., p. 146.

[3] ibid., p. 145.

[4] ibid., p. 147.

[5] Heim, op. cit., p. 61.

[6] 2 Cor. 5.7.

[7] Cf. 1 Cor. 13.12.

[8] *Der Evangelist Mätthäus*, p. 710. He says: 'Die Beschreibung der Parusie besteht fast ausschliesslich aus Schriftworten. Jesus schuf nicht eigene Bilder für den Moment, in dem er sich in der Herrlichkeit Gottes der Welt zeigen wird. Er gründete die Hoffnung der Jünger einzig auf die prophetischen Worte, in derselben Weise, wie er im Blick auf sein Kreuz sich dadurch stärkte, dass die Schrift das Leiden mit der Beauftragung durch Gott verband.' In the face of our Lord's example Calvin's words 'the chief part of our wisdom lies in confining ourselves soberly within the limits of God's word' (op. cit., p. 153) gain force.

Dr Taylor says about vv. 24-27: 'No room is left for men, and it is not clear how the Elect can be gathered from "the four winds".'[2] That the *how* should be beyond our comprehension is not surprising, in fact, an event which we could neatly explain could hardly be *the* End. By mentioning the angels Jesus indicates that it will be by means beyond our understanding that the gathering of the Elect will be accomplished.[3] Eloquent and moving is Calvin's comment:

> Whenever, therefore, we perceive the Church scattered by the wiles of Satan, or torn in pieces by the cruelty of the ungodly, or disturbed by false doctrines, or tossed about by storms, let us learn to turn our eyes to this *gathering of the elect.* And if it appears to us a thing difficult to be believed, let us call to remembrance the power of *the angels,* which Christ holds out to us for the express purpose of raising our views above human means. For, though the Church be now tormented by the malice of men, or even broken by the violence of the billows, and miserably torn in pieces, so as to have no stability in the world, yet we ought always to cherish confident hope, because it will not be by human means, but by heavenly power, which will be far superior to every obstacle, that the Lord will *gather* his Church.[4]

(*To be continued*)

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[1] Heim, op. cit., p. 62 f.

[2] op. cit., p. 517.

[3] It will include the dead, for this will be the time of the resurrection. Strack and Billerbeck (I, 959) point out that according to ancient Jewish literature the gathering of the elect who have been scattered is accomplished either by God or Messiah or Moses or Elijah. In Enoch 61.1, 5 they find a hint at the co-operation of the angels.

[4] op. cit., p. 148.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Gospel According to St. Mark. Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indexes. By VINCENT TAYLOR. London: Macmillan and Co. 50s.

THE classical work of H. B. Swete, first published in 1898, has served the needs of two generations of students of St. Mark's Gospel, and its value in respect of its wealth of philological and patristic learning remains unimpaired. But even when Swete's commentary was published, the tides of critical and historical research were sweeping past it in full stream, and advancing to new positions, particularly in the matter of the source-analysis of the Synoptic material, and, since then, over wide areas of investigation important results have been registered. New textual sources—Chester-Beatty papyrus 45, Codex Koridethi, and Codex Washington, etc.—have been collated. There has been a revaluation and regrouping of the types of ancient text. Progress has been made in lexical research, especially in the study of the Greek Koine and Aramaic. Form-criticism has opened new avenues to the understanding of the Synoptic material, and since Wrede and Schweitzer there has come a quickening of theological insight into the nature of the primitive tradition with a better focussing of the questions demanding solution, not least in the matter of eschatology.

It is fortunate that the task of producing the new commentary in succession to Swete has been entrusted to the accomplished hands of Dr Vincent Taylor, whose technical qualifications in the field of Synoptic studies have found eloquent expression in a series of critical works, beginning with *Behind the Third Gospel* (1926), and including *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1933) and *Jesus and His Sacrifice* (1937). But Dr Taylor brings to the work not only the highest degree of critical and theological scholarship, but a dispassionate and almost incredible patience shown in his exhaustive survey of the current and casual literature bearing on his subject and hidden away in encyclopedias, monographs and learned journals. 'The wealth of relevant literature', he writes, 'is the inspiration and despair of the student.' In the interests of his comprehensive purpose he has exercised an extraordinary self-restraint, disclaiming the intention to write a definitive commentary, choosing rather, as he modestly puts it, 'to report progress and perhaps to stimulate others to essay the task'. Fortunately for us, this self-subordination of the writer to the design of registering the contemporary state of critical opinion has not obscured the fine qualities of his own perception at many points in his exposition, as for example in his discussion of Mark 4.10-12 and his treatment of the Last Supper narrative at Mark 14.22-25.

In the matter of textual criticism Dr Taylor has at no fewer than 87 points departed from the Westcott-Hort text in favour of alternative readings. On the question of the influence of Aramaic sources on the Greek language of the tradition he has relied chiefly on the judgment of Semitic experts, but he comes into his own when he proceeds to apply the results of these investigations to the critical analysis of Mark's source-material. He points out that the study of the *distribution* of Semitisms over the range of the Synoptic material has not yet been seriously undertaken, but he gives capital illustration of the fruitfulness of this method in his special notes on the Construction of the Passion and Resurrection Narrative and on the Compilation of the Apocalyptic Discourse, in both of which, and particularly in the former, he breaks new ground. On the subject of sources, while rejecting all known forms of the *Ur-Markus* hypothesis, he will not write *R.I.P.* over the theory. He is patient with the extravagances of the extreme exponents of Form-criticism—too patient, we sometimes feel—but in his own representation he makes firm discrimination between narratives embodying historical reminiscences and narratives shaped by catechetical and doctrinal interests. In extent he considers the former to predominate, but he thinks that even the latter have not lost touch with what was said and done in the historic ministry of Jesus. While affirming the substantial truth of the Papias tradition, he finds the sources of Mark's Gospel as a whole to be too various to admit of its being simply described as the Memoirs of Peter.

Dr Taylor notes as a feature of recent critical thought 'a steady and progressive movement of interest from the literary and critical aspects of the Gospel to its theological importance'. He sees that Form-criticism has contributed to this movement, but finds evidence that if the religious beliefs of the earliest communities coloured the tradition, 'it is no less true that the beliefs were rooted in the tradition and did not emerge *ex nihilo* warmed by the winds of Hellenism and watered by the dews of the Orient'. On the other hand, he sounds a note of caution against emphasising theological interests to the neglect of literary and historical criticism. So far from promoting the true interests of theology, such indifference to criticism can only result in a new Gnosticism.

With regard to eschatology Dr Taylor admits that in Mark the principal emphasis lies upon the Kingdom of God as future and indeed imminent. But he considers that the teaching of Mark on such subjects as the final coming of the Son of Man (8.38, 13.26, 14.62) represents a colouring and to some extent a distortion of the words of Jesus under the influence of apocalyptic beliefs held by the Church in the evangelist's day. While Bultmann maintains that the Parousia sayings are older than the prophecies of suffering and resurrection, the latter being *vaticinia ex eventu*, Dr Taylor finds a place for both in the original tradition, but contends that in Mark the Parousia sayings, though primitive, are 'out of focus'. Jesus predicted His suffering and death, 'but spoke of His return in terms less explicit and apocalyptic than 8.38 and 13.26 would suggest'.

Wrede's hypothesis that the 'Messianic Secret' in Mark is an artificial doctrinal construction is rejected. 'Contrary to the views of Wrede, Mark's treatment of the idea of the Messianic secret . . . preserves, as no other Gospel does, an original element in the thought of Jesus, and the same must be said of the evangelist's emphasis upon the idea of Messianic suffering.' In his own estimation, and not merely in the mind of Mark, Jesus was '*Messias absconditus*'. 'He had His own distinctive conception of Messiahship', and His use of the word 'Son of Man' in 2.10 has a significance which was 'Messianic to Himself, but non-Messianic, yet a challenge to reflection, in the hearing of His opponents'. It agrees with this that, after Caesarea Philippi, the theme is developed in terms of Messianic suffering.

A daring application of the secret Messiah idea is made in Dr Taylor's approach to the question of the nature-miracles in Mark. 'The Christology of the nature-miracles is different from that implicit in the Markan tradition as a whole. The Christology of the latter is that of a *Deus absconditus*, who fully accepts the limitations of a human life and remains hidden even to the eyes of faith; and the Christology of the nature-miracles is that of a *Deus revelatus*, the God who throws off all disguise and is not bound by the conditions of human existence. Some allowance has, therefore, to be made for beliefs and presuppositions of the first century having left their mark on the records of the Gospel miracles and particularly the nature-miracles.

The rich detail of the commentary as a whole does not admit of full review in a brief article. Particular attention may, however, be directed to the theory of the parables in Mark 4.10-12, where Dr Taylor argues that a general principle distinguishing between revelation to the disciples and concealment from the crowd—which has support in the Q sayings, Luke 10.21 (=Matt. 11.25 f) and Luke 10.23 f (=Matt. 13.16 f)—has been applied to the parables of Jesus with a rigour which gives rise to exegetical difficulties. With regard to the Feeding of the Five Thousand, Dr Taylor inclines to the hypothesis of Schweitzer, coupled with the suggestion of Wellhausen that the numbers have been exaggerated. 'That Jesus should have anticipated the Messianic Feast is in harmony with His teaching concerning the Kingdom of God and with Jewish customs . . . Eschatological sacraments may well have preceded the Last Supper.' His judgment on the Feeding of the Four Thousand is that Mark 'intends to locate the incident in the Decapolis and to associate it with Gentiles. He does not expressly describe a Gentile mission. Nevertheless, he tells the story in such a way as to suggest that he has in mind the Gentile Church of his day.' Dr Taylor reviews the various interpretations which have been offered of the Transfiguration narrative—historical, visionary, symbolic, doctrinal—but accepts no one explanation to the exclusion of the rest. All we know is that 'the confession of 8.29 was deepened and confirmed in an incommunicable experience of prayer and religious insight'.

The Apocalyptic Discourse of Mark 13 is analysed, as already stated, by the aid of linguistic criteria. Various strata, Palestinian and Roman tradition, as well as Markan 'constructions', are distinguished. 'The implication that not a little in 13 is secondary tradition is inescapable on any valid interpretation of the chapter.' Dr Taylor's judgment is very frank: 'We are far from robbing the teaching of Jesus of its essentially eschatological content, which is unmistakably present in many sayings, but which, for the most part, describes hopes fulfilled in His person and in the events of His historic ministry. What we detach from His shoulders is the glittering apocalyptic robe with which primitive Christianity clothed Him, and with which He is still draped in popular Christian expectation.'

The dissection of Mark's Passion-narrative is too intricate to be set out here. It rests on the application of a fine linguistic calculus to the material. We can only indicate the gist of the conclusion. 'Mark found an account of the Passion in Rome and expanded it by the aid of Petrine tradition. This hypothesis is the reverse of what *a priori* might be expected.'

It will be seen that Dr Taylor's book offers a very great amount of constructive suggestion to the reader, and no commentary was ever more lucidly and attractively written. At the same time it will be seen that it is provocative in its challenge to thought at a number of points, and criticism will not slumber. It seems to the reviewer that not everywhere in the book is there a sufficient recognition of the sense of crisis underlying the acts and words of Jesus, nor a sufficient allowance for the prophetic and apocalyptic background of some of these acts and words. At Mark 11.23, for instance, one misses any reference to Zech. 14.4, the prophecy about the Mount of Olives being cloven asunder, which, as the present reviewer has elsewhere pointed out, may well have been in our Lord's mind at the crossing over from Bethany to the Holy City: 'Whoso shall say to this mountain, Be lifted and cast into the sea,' etc. As will have been noticed, Dr Taylor leans decidedly away from the highly coloured eschatological expectation of Early Christianity, and minimises the influence here of the language of Jesus. Not all will agree with this attitude. Not all, for example, will share his view that the 'Abomination of Desolation' in Mark 13.14 replaces an original word about Roman armies surrounding Jerusalem and menacing the Temple. There are points, therefore, at which this masterly book will excite criticism, even protest, as well as admiration. But Dr Taylor would not probably wish it to be otherwise.

William Manson

The Fulness of Time. By John Marsh. London: Nisbet. 15s.

Professor Marsh has given us a very valuable and suggestive survey of the Biblical understanding of history, but the reader may be excused if he feels some initial difficulty in getting the exact focus of the writer when he relates this understanding to the nature or character of time. It is not easy to consider that it makes a real difference, as regards the time-concept *per se*, whether with the Bible we think of the historical process as meaningful or without the Bible dismiss it as meaningless, whether we conceive the pattern of events to be cyclic or imagine it to be linear. The difference is in the significance attached to the contents of time rather than in the conception of the time-substratum itself which metaphysically is the same whatever be our philosophy of history. Perhaps the difficulty which Dr Marsh creates for us at this point originates in the fact that, while the question from which his thesis starts off is the problem of time, the area into which his thought leads him is that of the Biblical history as the sphere of divine events. Certainly the declared purpose of the book is to elucidate the supreme significance of the Biblical record.

This task Dr Marsh pursues through a succession of penetrating studies carried over the whole field of the Biblical revelation. In his prefatory chapters headed 'Introductory' and 'Time and Time Again' he deals with the ontological status accorded to history in the Bible and with the recognition within that history of definite *kairoi* (e.g. the Exodus and, supremely, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ) which are constituted by the entrance into time of supratemporal or eternal moments binding past, present and future in one, recreating the old in the new, and giving to history in its time-substratum a pattern which is neither cyclic nor yet purely linear, but involves the simultaneity of before and after and the identity of here and there. For example, both the Exodus and the Day of the Lord can be referred to as '*in that day*' or '*at that time*'. So when men have their eyes truly opened to the real meaning of the mighty acts of God in the Bible, they no longer contemplate past events in the manner of the historian or antiquarian. 'The believer's reading of history brings him into present touch with a living and present God. . . . The past comes alive into the present and speaks now.' This is because in the Biblical idea of history the eternal is present in human events. Past and present are alike lifted out of the confines of mere temporality and succession, and in the declarations of the prophets the future is not simply descried but becomes an effectual part of reality now. So Dr Marsh can say that for the Hebrew mind 'time was not a chronological continuum but a theological series'. The only point at which we might be disposed to quarrel with this statement is that the qualification 'merely' is not inserted after 'time was not', for Dr Marsh admits the existence of a chronological continuum. 'The chronological continuum is there', he writes, 'because God ordains sun, moon, and stars and moves them in their courses; the theological series because He created man in His own image, and when man had rebelled, God still cared for him by an over-ruling, all-embracing providence and sought to redeem him in a costly, historical redemption.'

Chapter III 'Out of Egypt' (the cardinal event of the Exodus), Chapter IV 'In That Day' (the domination of prophecy by the event of the Exodus, and the rise of prophetic eschatology), Chapter V 'The Accepted Time' (the events of Christ's coming, life, death, resurrection, ascension and reign), Chapter VI 'Times and Seasons' (the relation of Biblical to secular history), and Chapter VII 'The Last Time' (the relation of fulfilment in Christ to the final meaning of secular history) complete the central core of the book. The domination of Hebrew prophecy by the event of the Exodus and the rise of eschatology under the impulse of the same event are excellently enforced and illustrated. The fulfilment also of the Exodus event in the supreme eschatological event of the Incarnation is finely delineated. It may be thought, however, that, while allowing for the influence of the Exodus and of the sufferings of the Chosen People on the mind of Jesus as the fulfiller of Israel's redemption, Dr Marsh has ascribed less than its due to Jewish apocalyptic thought of the future as a factor in the shaping of His thought. To some extent, though not fully, Dr Marsh leans to the point of view of Dr Glasson, Professor C. H. Dodd, and Principal Vincent Taylor with regard to the Parousia predictions of Mark 8.38, 13.26, and 14.62. There is for the Christian religion really only one Coming of Christ, and the end of history is related to that Coming as the central event of time. But this is not the full measure of the hope of the New Testament Church.

While, however, some questions remain to be asked, Dr Marsh has given us a very fresh and instructive presentation of the Biblical concept of the Fulness of Time, and Chapter VII on 'The Last Time' will repay re-reading. As regards that Fulness, it is to be considered that even the great events constituting revelation in the Old Testament were 'implicated in the pervasive ambiguity of history', the proof being that Old Testament prophecy had to look beyond the Exodus for a greater day of fulfilment. But for the Christian consciousness the events of the Incarnation are not subject to this 'ambiguity and meaninglessness which had beclouded even the events which revealed God and His purposes to Israel'. They represent the full coming of the eternal into history and therefore the fulness of time. For this reason Dr Marsh will not accept the linear view of history expounded by Dr Cullmann, because while the scriptural view is much nearer to the linear than to the cyclical or spiral view, its distinctive feature is that the end of the linear process appears in the middle of the line. And this appearance of the end at the centre of history signifies that the final meaning of history does not for Christians involve the awaiting of an *unknown* ultimate event. As the sacraments show, history is already taken up into its end. There is much to be pondered in this stimulating book.

William Manson

The Origins of European Thought. By Richard Broxton Onians. Cambridge University Press, 1951. Pp. 547. £2 5s. net.

This remarkable and immensely learned work by the Carlile Professor of Latin in the University of London will be of great interest to scholars in many different fields; to philosophers, anthropologists and historians; and perhaps not least to theologians. What it attempts to do is to penetrate to the beginnings of the peculiar way of looking at things which we call the Western Mind, and by this genetic method to enable us better to understand the abiding nature of that outlook. We are informed in the Preface that the work has been in hand for some thirty years, and indeed the Preface itself was written as long ago as 1940, by which time the work had reached a third proof; but since then space has been found for various important Addenda.

The basic concepts whose origin is here the object of inquiry are those connected with the mind, the soul, life, death, fate, time, etc. The evidence on which Professor Onians mainly relies is that of the Homeric poems, which represent the earliest written record in the Western World, but he finds in the literary records of the Romans, the Celts, the Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Slav peoples later evidence of the same original ways of thinking. In one of the Addenda the parallel Jewish conceptions are carefully investigated on the basis of the Old Testament evidence. The most general theme running through the book is that psychological entities which we now conceive as non-material (not extended in space or having location) were originally identified with some bodily organ or activity. The thought was identified with the word in which it was expressed, and the word with the deed which it described. To the Greeks the seat of consciousness was in the *phrenes* and in the *thymos*; but the *phrenes* were originally the lungs, and the *thymos* was the breath.

It is impossible, and it would here be out of place, to attempt anything like a summary account of Professor Onians' argument. It must suffice to indicate one or two of the points at which the interest of the theological reader will be most engaged. There is, for instance, the chapter on *kairos*—one of the key-words of the New Testament. Professor Onians gives good ground for believing that the original meaning of the word was an aperture or penetrable opening, just as the equivalent Latin word *opportunitas* derives from *porta*, which also means an opening. The connexion of all the other and later usages of *kairos* with this original one is then skilfully demonstrated. Again, the Hebrew concepts of *ruah* and *nephesh* are carefully analysed and related to the corresponding concepts of the Greek and other cultures. 'The heart and the reins', 'tender mercies,' the anointing of the stone at Bethel, Ezekiel's valley of dry bones, the water of life, 'the Spirit as a dove', the tongues of fire at Pentecost —such are a few of the things concerning which we are here instructed. Only at one point does the author go beyond the limits of scholarly analysis and venture on an opinion of his own concerning the truth or falsity of the conceptions analysed. It may be of interest to quote, without comment, the passage in which he does this. 'To trace the genesis of certain beliefs and to explain their form is not to discredit the truth most of them image, though imperfectly; the essential Christian vision of God and of men in relation to Him and to each other, a vision already in great part seen by the noblest Jewish prophets and Greek philosophers but most movingly proclaimed and lived by Jesus. . . . This vision is in the present writer's opinion more universal and profound than any of the arrogant ideologies or timid scepticisms of the modern world, and it needs to be proclaimed anew, freed from the inessential details that have been outgrown. They prevent its acceptance by critical minds and, scarcely less, by the mass of men. . . . If the superstitions of Palestine nineteen centuries ago are understood, seen for what they were, they need not discredit the unageing truths which had already then been perceived and with which they were then inevitably joined.'

John Baillie

Modern Cosmology and the Christian Idea of God. By E. A. Milne. Clarendon Press, 1952. Pp. 160. 21s.

The author of this substantial work, who was Rouse Ball Professor of Mathematics at Oxford, died suddenly in September 1950, shortly before the proposed date of delivery at Birmingham of the Edward Cadbury lectures of which it consists. It is a matter of interest that his successor in the chair, Professor Charles Coulson, has also proved himself a valiant defender of the faith, though following a different line of apologetic from that which is here represented.

In his earlier books Professor Milne had appeared as something of a heretic in the realm of physical cosmology, boldly dissenting from the views of the generality of his fellow physicists and putting forward alternative theories of his own that certainly had the merit of genuine originality and of being excellently argued. In the present volume these theories reappear with some significant additions. It is the physicist rather than the theologian who will be chiefly interested. The greater part of the book consists of technical discussion of physical problems, and though the author's own interest in these problems is genuinely bound up with their bearing on Christian faith, yet it is only in the closing paragraphs of some of the chapters, but especially in the closing eight pages of the book, that this is definitely brought out.

The prevailing modern view is that the laws of nature cannot be reached by logical deduction but only as the result of empirical observation, which is the same as to say that they are not rationally necessary but might have been otherwise than they are. Professor Milne, on the other hand, argues that the ideal of science is to show that every law, even if empirically derived in the first instance, follows from the nature of reason itself. But if the universe is thus rational throughout, containing no inexplicable empiricisms, the judgment is inevitable that it was created by a rational Being; and not in *two* acts of creation, by which He first created matter and then a set of laws for matter to obey; but in a single act in which the laws followed necessarily from the first and only act of creation.

It is thus that Professor Milne seeks to defend Christian theism. 'I was brought up', he writes, 'as a mathematical physicist; I was also brought up as a member of the Church of England. And though I have had my periods of agnosticism, I have always recovered from them. I do most fervently believe that this universe was created by Almighty God.'

This view of the status of the laws of nature is so powerfully presented, and with so realistic a facing of the difficulties involved in it, that it must be taken seriously. But most will incline rather to the view that there is a contingent element in the behaviour of the natural world as well as an element of conformity to mathematico-logical requirements. They will hold that while nature conforms to a mathematical model, it cannot be predicted in advance *which* mathematical model this will be. Theologically this will mean that the order of the world, instead of proceeding directly from the structure of the divine reason, is a free creation of the divine will; and such a view is after all more congruent than the other with the Christian faith as set forth in the Bible.

JOHN BAILLIE

Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum neuen Testament*, Tübingen, 1951). By HANS BIETENHARD.

SPECULATIONS about the heavenly world occupy a prominent place in the apocalyptic writings of Judaism and in rabbinical mysticism, and the New Testament in certain respects stands within the same tradition. In this book, originally presented as a *Habilitationschrift* in the University of Bern, Dr Hans Bietenhard has subjected this vast Jewish material to an exhaustive examination, and seeks to relate it to corresponding New Testament ideas and imagery.

Though the author gives priority in his title to *Urchristentum*, his main material is drawn from the literature of *Spätjudentum*. We are led by an experienced guide through the somewhat bewildering maze of late Jewish apocalyptic and mystical cosmology, through heaven and the heavens and the heaven of heavens (Judaism appears to have stopped at seven, but its Babylonian prototype had as many as ten) to a consideration of 'heavenly signs' at the *Parousia*, the Throne of God and the Merkabhah mysticism, Enoch and Metatron and angelology, Paradise, the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem, 'die Hölle im Himmel', the heavenly books and tablets, etc. In a concluding chapter entitled *Zusammenfassung*, Dr Bietenhard goes on to discuss the place of such ideas in the New Testament as compared with Jewish sources: whereas in the latter such cosmological speculations belong to the apocalyptic *kerygma*, in the New Testament they are peripheral and form no essential part of the Gospel: the latter looks to the Person and Work of Christ for its knowledge of God, not to the heavenly Chariot or the Signs of the Zodiac.

In addition to its interest for the curious, the book provides extensive background material for the New Testament. The Apocalypse naturally bulks large in its pages, and for those who seek light and guidance on some of its dark corners, here we have a thorough exploration of possible parallels and solutions. Other apocalyptic passages are also discussed, the Little Apocalypse in Mark, St Paul's heavenly vision at 2 Cor. 12: the third heaven or Paradise to which St Paul was caught up is described in greater detail at 2 Enoch ch. 9, it is the place prepared for those who have borne patiently the blows and burdens of life (cf. 2 Cor. 12.10) in all righteousness, who fed the hungry, clothed the naked, supported the fallen, the sick and the widow.

For the student of Theology the most important part of the book is the *Zusammenfassung*, where the author sets out his theological conclusions. Common to both mystical Judaism and the New Testament is a geocentric cosmology and a *kerygma*, for no less than the Apostles the apocalyptic seers and mystics sought primarily to communicate, by their esoteric 'revelations', a saving knowledge of God. The essential difference from Christianity, however, lies in the place occupied by such speculations about the Kosmos, its beginnings and end, its hierarchies and denizens, in the respective *kerygmata*: in mystical Judaism they are of its very substance, whereas in Christianity they are at most secondary. Cosmology has no place in the Gospel, though the Gospel writers assume a geocentric cosmology and borrow heavily on contemporary ideas and imagery. Thus a two-tier universe is clearly assumed in the story of the Ascension told in Acts 1, but it is only a secondary feature of the Christian truth of the Ascension or Exaltation of Christ; the primary thing is the article of faith that Jesus through His resurrection was exalted to God's right hand.

Dr Bietenhard's book is thus theologically a contribution to the *Entmythologisierung* question, though he nowhere makes any direct reference to it. Moreover, it must be said at once that, against the background he has so ably sketched, the differences between Christianity and Judaism to which he draws attention are striking. The New Testament writers have selected, modified and transformed ideas and imagery which run riot in Judaism; and this sifting and transforming process is manifestly the result of their interpretation of the 'mighty acts of God', not among the angels in highest heaven, but upon earth in events which took place in a Roman Province *sub Pontio Pilato.* So soon as the belief took hold that God had acted in Christ in history, all apocalyptic attempts to discover Him in heaven became irrelevant. The New Testament emphasis is unmistakably clear: there can be no saving knowledge of God apart from Christ.

To say this, however, does not dispose of all the problems, for there are conceptions, such as that of Gehenna and future punishment, which the New Testament not only shares with Jewish apocalyptic, but at times interprets in the same way. One thinks, for instance, of the grim apocalyptic message of 2 Thess. 1.7 ff, not to mention similar passages in the Apocalypse. To what extent has the New Testament shaken itself entirely free of crude Jewish apocalyptic notions? Questions such as these are not to be solved by the application of a few formulae in the last chapter.

It would be ungrateful, however, to conclude on a critical note. Dr Bietenhard's book fills an acknowledged gap, and students of Biblical theology will profit by its wide theological learning.

MATTHEW BLACK

Christ and Culture. By H. RICHARD NIEBUHR. Faber. 21s. net.

THIS book, the author tells us, is 'part of the result of many years of study, reflection and teaching', and on every one of its 250 closely reasoned but lucid pages it bears the marks of that process. Dr Niebuhr envisages his problem not merely as one defending Christianity against its cultured despisers, or of commending it to the learned or to the masses. It is rather the problem, which arises for believing and would-be practising Christians, of how to combine loyalty to Christ with loyalty to the culture-society to which they belong. Culture is taken in its widest sense as the process and result of all human activity whereby order and value are superimposed on crude nature—in short what is commonly called 'the world' in the New Testament. And Christ is understood in the full New Testament sense as Incarnate Son of God whose life, words, deeds and destiny are of supreme importance as a key to the understanding of this world, the main source of the knowledge of God, the constant companion of the conscience, and the expected deliverer from evil; by whom His disciples 'are forever being challenged to abandon all things for the sake of God, and forever being sent back into the world to teach and practise all the things that have been commanded them'.

So stated in its utmost generality the problem is seen to be infinitely complex, embracing the endless variety of particular problems that confront Christians and Churches from day to day in their several existential situations. Moreover it has been an enduring problem for the Church from the beginning. The answers given have been also varied, and have been partly determined, no doubt, by historical circumstances. The answer of the Pre-Constantinian Church might be expected to differ from that of the Medieval Church, and that again from the answer of the Church in modern times. Nevertheless Dr Niebuhr believes that it is possible to discern in this multiplicity five typical answers that 'recur so often in different eras that they cannot be explained simply as the products of historical conditioning.' Their roots may be traced in the New Testament and they correspond to essential elements in Christianity itself.

To each of these answers Dr Niebuhr gives an appropriate name. (1) Christ against Culture, of which representative exponents are the First Epistle of John, Tertullian, and Tolstoy. (2) The Christ of Culture, represented by the Gnostics of the Early Church, Abelard in the Middle Ages and Ritschl with his following of 'Culture-Protestantism' in modern times. These are, however, extremes, and the central Christian Tradition has sought a *via media* in one or other of three forms which are not always so easy to distinguish. (3) Christ above Culture, where it is sought to make a Christian synthesis between faith and reason, as by Clement of Alexandria and Thomas Aquinas. Of this a modern exponent is hard to find. Dr Niebuhr gives reasons for refusing to regard modern Thomists as such (pp. 144-5). They must be regarded, he thinks, as on a par with 'culture-Protestants', defending one particular culture, in their case that of the thirteenth century. Genuine synthesis today has become harder if not impossible. (4) Christ and Culture in Paradox, where sin is seen as a blight on all culture, as by Paul and Marcion, Luther and Kierkegaard. Finally (5) Christ the Transformer of Culture, seen in the Fourth Gospel, Augustine, Calvin, and, supremely, in F. D. Maurice. Dr Niebuhr admits, of course, that there is something arbitrary in the selection and classification of these writers. Few of them run completely true to type. He is most careful not to force them to fit into his pattern. He is entirely just and fair in his scholarly and sympathetic exposition of their views. Nevertheless the five typical answers stand out in bold relief, and nothing could be better than his appraisal of them in their respective theological strength and weakness. Indeed these historical chapters offer a fascinating introduction to one of the major problems confronting the Church today, and if they be studied with the care which they require and deserve they will give a deep understanding of its real nature.

But of course the reader experiences a growing impatience to be told what, then, in Dr Niebuhr's view is *the* Christian answer. His reply is surely the right one. To claim to give *the* Christian answer 'would be an act of usurpation of the Lordship of Christ, which at the same time would involve doing violence to the liberty of Christian men and to the unconcluded history of the Church in Culture'. It would be to do exactly what he accuses the Thomists of doing, to indentify Christianity with some historical and therefore transient form of culture, and thereby to become a 'Culture-Christian'. Now, to Niebuhr 'Culture-Christianity' seems the least adequate of the five possible answers; not that it does not have value in commending Christ to the cultured; but it tends to identify Christ with what men believe to be their finest ideals, their noblest institutions and their best philosophy. At its worst 'the word Christ is nothing but an honorific and emotional term by means of which each period attaches numinous quality to its personified ideals'. Culture-Christians, he acutely remarks, 'find it strongly desirable to write apocryphal Gospels and new lives of Jesus'. One may hazard the guess that he is gently shepherding us towards the conversionist answer of F. D. Maurice, 'whose attitude to culture is affirmative throughout because he takes most seriously the conviction that nothing exists without the Word', but who 'is never accommodating because he is most sensitive to the perversion of human culture, in its religious as well as in its political and economic aspects'.

And yet Dr Niebuhr cannot shake off the influence of Kierkegaard from whom he borrows the title of his profoundly moving concluding chapter. The problem of Christ and Culture cannot be answered on the plane of understanding but only in the realm of decision, amid the relativities of human life, but illumined by the Absolute, as known in and through Christ. Here Kierkegaard with his insistent existentialism has much to give, if only he did not unduly isolate the individual in the moment of decision. For every decision is made in a given historical situation and a given social environment and, though freely made, is not without antecedents and consequences. If it is made in faith, it is made in view of the total fact of Christ, who lived and died and rose again from the dead, and who has created faith in the faithfulness of God.

That Dr Niebuhr's problem is a living theological issue today is proved by the immense literature devoted to it (see the list given on p. 229). It is no less important for the Christian preacher who would address himself to the mind of this generation. To the preacher this book may be commended with complete confidence as a stimulating and even exciting and inspiring aid in his work.

John H. S. Burleigh

Nature and Man in Biblical Thought. By E. C. Rust. Lutterworth Press. 31s. 6d.

Any man who writes a study in Biblical Theology must first answer to his own satisfaction one question: Is his work only a study of primitive ways of thought about God and the world, or is there here something profoundly true for today and all times? Characteristically Professor Rust faces this problem boldly at the start. His conclusion is that science must have its fair say, but revelation can shine through primitive cosmology and psychology. There are however 'certain truths and categories which modern science cannot . . . challenge. These are bound up not with the structure of the world so much as with the relation of God to the world'.

What the author gives us here is almost a complete Biblical Theology. And it is all needed, for the relation of nature to God the Creator and Redeemer and to man, and man's relation to nature and God, covers nearly every Christian dogma. Almost the only great doctrine not dealt with is that of the atoning work and person of Christ. But there is a most interesting and valuable review of the different New Testament passages dealing with Christ's pre-existence.

The writer sketches in the Biblical background of nature, which is under the control of the Creator and Upholder of all, possessing its own natural ordinances, yet never erected into an independent system with a deistic God sitting on the edge of it. This world is resonant, not only to the act and word of God, but also to the actions of men. When man sins, he is out of joint with the world that God made for him. Here God has placed man, a part of nature, and yet exalted above it by the divine image; a likeness which is described in Eichrodl's terms as consisting in self-consciousness, self-determination, personality.

The question of miracle is dealt with at some length and in various passages, and with characteristic candour the writer tells us which of the Johannine signs he accepts and which he rejects and why. He accepts the raising of Lazarus, and rejects the miracle of water changed to wine.

The whole book shows a welcome openness of mind towards the problems and difficulties which men today may feel with regard to Biblical doctrines. Two instances may be cited. It is admitted that modern science has made it impossible for us to say that death is a result of the Fall; and he is also aware of the strain which the modern discovery of the vastness of the universe has placed on the faith of many. To this last difficulty he finds an answer in the revelation of God's purpose of redemption for man in Christ, in whose image we were created.

Professor Rust is well read, and the book is valuable, not only for occasional flashes of insight, but also for its careful reporting of the views of other authorities and for its frankness. There is hardly ever a question on which the author's opinion is obscurely expressed or left in doubt, while on the other hand problems are not reduced to a false simplicity or robbed of their mystery. But there are times, as in the last chapter, when the reader is left a little startled and exhausted by the enormous amount of territory covered in one comet-flight. And yet in this same chapter are found some of these flashes of insight mentioned above. Among other things, it treats of the development of modern science away from the world-picture of Newton and Descartes, and claims that here there is a change towards a view more like that of the Bible. While this is familiar enough, it is expounded with confidence, knowledge, and considerable freshness.

Your reviewer would question the value of one suggestion made in the chapter 'Man in the Natural Order'. Rust here refers to Wheeler Robinson's idea that the inspiration of God's Spirit enabled the prophets of the Old Testament to speak, as it were, for the time being, as extensions of God's personality. Professor Rust seems to hint that the doctrine of the image of God in man can be linked up with this prophetic inspiration. But surely the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets came and went, and was given only to a few, while existence in the image is given to all men, inasmuch as they are human. Surely what God does give in the gift of the image, as the Old Testament writer thought of it, is an existence which in its own humble way is the counterpart of His own, and which is a Thou over against Him. And this is what Professor Rust elsewhere maintains.

David Cairns

Daily Life in the Early Church. By J. G. Davies. Lutterworth Press. 16s. net.

The author of this book in an Appendix defines Church Social History as 'The record of the Christian's daily life springing from his religious beliefs'. Accepting this as roughly correct we may thus parallel a striking sentence in Trevelyan's *English Social Life* (Introduction). Without Church Social History the history of Christian doctrine is barren and the history of Church organisation is unintelligible. But Mr Davies maintains that the Social History of the Church still remains to be written, in spite of the fact that the larger Church Histories devote much attention to it, and particular aspects or periods have been dealt with in elaborate monographs. These, no doubt, have followed the method of research—degree theses or of generalised description, and have frequently lacked imagination and literary grace. Mr Davies adopts the method of the late Dr Eileen Power in *Medieval People*, where the facts (discovered by the theses-writers) are presented imaginatively and attractively for the general reader. Naturally he turns to the Early Church in which Christian life was sharply distinguished from the life of the surrounding pagan society. From the pre-Constantinian period he selects Clement of Alexandria and Victoria, the martyr of Carthage, excellent illustrations, but it is surprising to find Paul of Samosata in their company. The hostile Synodal letter describing his scandalous life is perhaps too implicitly relied upon. From the fourth to fifth centuries we have John Chrysostom, whose struggles against sin and superstition within the Church show that Christianity had not fully conquered; John Cassian, representative of the enthusiasts who withdrew from the world *and* the Church into the monastery; and Diogenes, the Sexton, who gives Mr Davies the opportunity to conduct us through the Catacombs. He describes a day in the life of each of these people, skilfully piecing together a vast amount of accurate information, topographical, archaeological, epigraphical and literary. He has not troubled his readers with too many references, but gives a full list of authorities at the end of each chapter. Undoubtedly he has succeeded admirably in making his characters and their period live, and his book should arouse a new interest in Church History.

John H. S. Burleigh

The Realm of Redemption. Studies in the Doctrine of the Nature of the Church in Contemporary Protestant Theology. By J. Robert Nelson. The Epworth Press. 15s.

In this work, apparently a dissertation for the doctorate in theology at Zürich, the views of many leading theologians and churchmen belonging to different communions and speaking several tongues are brought together with the purpose of helping those engaged in the ecumenical movement to see clearly the various conceptions of the nature of the Church of Christ, and to understand the fundamental issues which keep Christians in a state of schism. No final synthesis of the different and often divergent views is attempted. It is rather a synopsis of the foremost ideas and beliefs concerning the Church which are now current, and a guide-book for further study. Nevertheless, here we do have the interpenetration of many of these views into each other in a way that clearly points forward to a more comprehensive and uniform understanding of the Church. It is altogether a most valuable and helpful contribution. It meets the urgent need for clear and concise information, and is of signal assistance in helping different churchmen toward mutual understanding. The whole field is very fully surveyed with an acute and discriminating power of selection so that the really important issues are laid bare, and the constructive ideas thrown up by modern discussion are gathered together in a fruitful exposition. Quite clearly, this is a work which will soon prove itself to be indispensable in ecumenical discussions, for it not only gives a comprehensive survey of contemporary study, as Professor Brunner says in a foreword, but does justice both to Anglo-Saxon and Continental European research. Dr Nelson has put us all very deeply in his debt.

The study begins by discussing the origin of the Church in relation to Israel both in respect of continuity and discontinuity and particularly in relation to Jesus Christ, to His person as well as His words. Dr Nelson remarks that with regard to the Church's inheriting the characteristics of the pre-Christian Israel and appropriating the heritage as the faithful remnant, the agreement in modern theologians has been nearly unanimous. 'As to the eschatological role of the *ekklēsia* with respect to the preaching of Jesus, there have been various interpretations, but with few sharp or absolutely exclusive differences. A greater variance can be seen among those who believe that Jesus did have a definite intention for the Church and those who believe that He did not; but their differences are traceable in large part to the differing concepts of the meaning of *ekklēsia*, as either a people called by God to be His own, or as an institutionalised religious cult' (p. 36). It is significant that F. M. Braun, a Roman Catholic scholar, in assessing the same field can speak of a marked turn in the direction of Protestant theology toward the teaching of the Roman Church! He does not, however, point out the historical fact that it was the Reformed discovery of the Church as the Body of Christ which has had such a large influence upon the modern teaching of Rome.

In the next two chapters Dr Nelson discusses the Church and the Holy Spirit and the Church as the Body of Christ. In the former we are given a very interesting and illuminating account of *koinōnia* as interpreted by modern scholars, and emphasis is laid upon the fact that the Spirit was given not to isolated individuals but to the whole community, so that the Church is an expression of God Himself in the world. 'Let this emphasis upon the corporate expression of the Spirit be neglected, and the way is clear for a strictly sociological conception of the Church' (p. 47). It is, however, in the following chapter that the real crux of the work is to be found —in the significance of the Church as the Body of Christ. What is the actual relationship to Christ which this notion implies—*inseparability*, certainly, but actual *identity*? The Anglican T. A. Lacey is cited as warning us: 'To say that the Church is the Body of Christ is not the same as to say that the Church is Christ'. And Karl Barth is cited as emphasising the Headship of Christ. The Church is, 'as His earthly body, bound to Him as such, and yet as distinct from Him, who possesses the Church in Himself, but not the Church Him in herself, between whom and her there is no reversible, interchangeable relationship, as certainly as the relationship of master and servant is not reversible' (p. 91).

The late H. R. Mackintosh used to remind us that Jesus was not a Christian, for a Christian is a *sinner* redeemed by Christ, and has only a mediated relation to the Father. It would appear that one of the basic facts that many modern churchmen need to remember is that the Church is *Christian*, i.e. a body of sinners redeemed by the blood of Christ and appropriated to Himself as His Body. That appropriation entailed the death and resurrection of Him who though He knew no sin was yet made sin for us, and also by participation the death and resurrection of the Church in Christ Jesus. The Church therefore cannot be thought of as an 'extension of the Incarnation' as though her relationship to the Father were not wholly mediated through the unique Incarnation of the only begotten Son, nor can she be thought of in any way that carries with it the notion of sinless perfection or deification. Otherwise the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ is driven into ecclesiological docetism. Such docetism is latent in the more Platonic than Biblical notion of the Church as the *mystical* Body of Christ. It was against such a platonising of the Church that the Reformers formulated their doctrine of the Church as an article of faith, and in order to preserve the Biblical notion that the Church is the actual historical, earthly Body of Christ. Failure to believe the Biblical witness that the Church is at once sinful and redeemed, until the redemption and resurrection of body, leads on the one hand to the Catholic deification of the Institution, and on the other hand to the Novatianism of the sects. That is why an Anglo-Catholic like Dom Gregory Dix had to do such violence to the Biblical doctrine of justification (cf. p. 155), because that doctrine teaches us that before God, this side of the final judgment, the Church in history is ever found to be in the wrong, and must ever be put in the right. It is lack of humility before the Cross of Christ, and refusal (like that of the Church of the Laodiceans) to acknowledge that even as Church she is wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked, along with refusal to repent, which are the real reasons for our divisions. *Das Antlitz der Kirche ist das einer Sünderin* (Martin Luther). The sooner this is deeply acknowledged the sooner our divisions can be healed.

Dr Nelson goes on to discuss the Word of God as the Church's authority, through which it is the risen Lord Himself who is actually present in command of His Church, the Word which therefore *includes* the Sacraments. 'It is the glorified Christ, in reality, who preaches, who baptises, and who invites to His table' (p. 137). 'From this christological attitude to the Word and the Sacraments the Church may at times depart in the direction of objectivism, on the one hand, or subjectivism, on the other. As Prenter remarks in another context, it is generally the great temptation of Catholicism to gravitate toward a false objectivism, and of Protestantism toward a false subjectivism. . . . Neither extreme in the absolute sense is compatible with either Catholic or Evangelical Protestant belief, but they are aberrations which are not uncommon. Both subjectivism and objectivism in one way or another lead to the result that man makes himself God, declares Prenter, "either in deifying the visible Church institutions or in deifying his invisible thinking or religious experience" ' (p. 137).

In regard to the expressions *visible* and *invisible* as applied to the Church, Dr Nelson does not appear to see sufficiently clearly that by these terms the Reformers, particularly Calvin, were referring to the Church as an *ontological and eschatological reality* and that such an understanding of the Church carries with it a notion of the ministry as essentially *de fide*. John Knox pointed out to the Jesuit from Tyrie that the Apostle's Creed has *credo sanctam ecclesiam*, not *video sanctam ecclesiam*, and that faith, as the NT says, is the evidence of things *not seen*. Thus the Church, including the ministry, is an object of faith, and is to be interpreted as such. The order of the Church is also a matter of faith, even though it partakes of the forms of this passing world. The Reformed teaching about the ministry therefore cannot be expounded as a matter of order, as distinct from a matter of faith (p. 142 f), for it is both. It should also be pointed out in this connexion that the Reformed teaching is not the priesthood of all Christians, but the corporate priesthood of the Church. Dr Nelson goes on, however, to give an excellent discussion of the place of individualism in modern thought about the Church, and Emil Brunner is cited with real effect as writing: 'In the Christian understanding of community the individual and the community are so related that the one cannot be thought of apart from the other. . . . The *communio electorum*, the *ekklēsia* of the *klētoi*, is *the only true community*' (p. 181). This means that once again Protestant thought after the Liberal interlude has returned to the notion (expounded by the Reformers in Cyprianic tradition) of the Church as the realm of redemption: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

The last two chapters deal with the Church's essential unity and with eschatology. There is much here that deserves full and elaborate discussion which we are not able to give in this review. The section on unity deserves close consideration by those leaders of the ecumenical movement who sometimes tend to depreciate dogmatic differences. Behind the outward allegiance to the great doctrines of the Catholic faith there are profound differences in the doctrine of God and of Christ and of sin which must not be obscured. Thus for example, any Church which will welcome reunion of splintered parts of the Church only on its own terms not only manifests the divisive spirit of the sect, but implies both a Pelagian doctrine of sin, and a doctrine of God which is unbiblical, while Catholicity itself is oppugned. 'Wherever Christians live in a state of separation from one another; wherever one denomination, be it ever so large, claims full sufficiency for itself; above all, wherever access to the Lord's Table is denied by one Christian group to another: in all these situations and others of like kind, the Catholicity of the Church is being overtly denied and the unity of the Church is rendered ineffective. The primary task of Christians in the present and coming generations is to find the means of recovering and expressing the unity which God gave to the Church when He created it through Jesus Christ' (p. 209).

Throughout this discussion Dr Nelson has rightly laid the main emphasis upon the essential and given unity of the Church which no disunity can overthrow, but it would appear that not sufficient attention is given to what he calls the 'branch theory' of the Church. One must agree with his criticisms, but there is something deeper here which we cannot pass over too lightly, if at all, the fact that (in the language of the *Apocalypse*) the Church is a seven-branched candelabra in whose midst dwells the risen Lord and the fulness of the Spirit. Does not the Holy Eucharist itself have something to say to us here: in the fraction of the one loaf, and yet in the unity through fraction where we may actually discern the Lord's Body?

This question can be discussed only in terms of the last chapter on eschatology, though in Dr Nelson's presentation these are not sufficiently integrated. This is, however, a very helpful introduction to a difficult subject, and the various views of scholars are clearly presented as they bear upon the Church. We are rightly warned that this problem which concerns time and eternity can be treated philosophically as well as theologically, and that it is important not to confuse the two methods of approach. In other words, eschatology is to be understood only in terms of Christology. It is at this point that Dr Nelson could have given us a great deal more from Karl Barth whose views he has misunderstood by confusing his early timeless eschatology (long left behind) with the teaching given in the *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (a confusion due in part no doubt to the perspective of Zürich in which the work is written!). There emerges from this discussion the salutary observation that on any Biblical understanding of the Church and her mission, and her relation to Jesus Christ, the end of world history will be a *real end*, within the context of history, which is no more a 'symbol' or 'mythological' statement as men like Dodd, Tillich, and Bultmann would have it. Quite clearly both 'thorough-going eschatology' and 'realised eschatology' lead to ecclesiological docetism.

T. F. Torrance

From Luther to Wesley. By Franz Hildebrandt. Lutterworth. Pp. 224. 16s.

Dr Hildebrandt has exceptional qualifications for the exacting task of comparing the vocation, theology and experience of Luther and Wesley. Assistant to Niemöller at Dahlem, then pastor to the German refugees at Cambridge, he became a Methodist minister, and now after a pastorate in Edinburgh goes to Drew as Professor of Systematic Theology. He has had an unrivalled opportunity of knowing Luther and Wesley from the inside, as well as the experience of living in both an Anglican and a Presbyterian environment. Not only has Dr Hildebrandt an ecumenical outlook, but he can write racy, stimulating English which enables him to communicate ideas and impressions that a German theologian would be likely to convey in heavy, academic jargon.

> 'Tell me,' a German guest student is reported to have asked at an Anglican Theological College, 'do the English theologians read their Luther in the German original always or only in the English translation?' One would like to preach a whole sermon on this text. The English ignorance of Luther is abysmal. . . . Some of the best modern books about Wesley are content . . . to let Harnack or Troeltsch speak for Luther (or against him). . . . Only very recently a need has been felt, and a cry been raised, for an exploration of the proper sources . . . and Methodist scholars are taking their turn in the vital work of rediscovering the original behind the traditional picture.

John Wesley was exceptional among the English clergy of his day in knowing the German language and in having travelled in Germany. He realised the tremendous place that Luther occupied in the German Evangelical tradition. Unfortunately, as Dr Hildebrandt emphasises, he saw Luther as he was presented to him by the Moravians. The Moravians, led by Count Zinzendorf, were subjective, over-emotional and rather inclined to Antinomianism. Wesley saw Luther through Moravian spectacles; the view was out of focus and Wesley was apt to blame the distorted figure he saw rather than the faulty spectacles. Dr Hildebrandt is an expert optician who offers his services so that we can see the true Luther, and so compare him in fair perspective with the true Wesley, as revealed by modern research.

The book falls into three parts—'Synopsis', 'Synthesis' and 'Harmony'. The first part is a detailed comparison of the theology and experience of Luther and Wesley, replete with Bible references and quotations from the Methodist Hymn Book. This analysis is no doubt necessary for the development of the author's thesis, but some readers may find it tedious. There are, however, some illuminating paragraphs and Presbyterians will be interested to read what he says about Arminianism and Calvinism. Time was when few Scotsmen would dare to follow Gilbert Burnet in applauding Arminianism which was generally regarded as a banner of prelacy. Wesley saw in Arminianism a wholesome corrective, 'an antidote to the ill effects of predestinarian and antinomian teaching'. His quarrel with Calvinism, moreover, was not so much with the original as with the degenerate, scholastic species that lingered into the eighteenth century. Wesley, though 'on the very edge' of the watershed, does not 'come down on the side of Calvin'.

Wesley was always ready to learn something from people whose outlook differed from his own. But contact did not imply permanent association. Wesley's casual meeting with Zinzendorf meant much less than Moravian and Methodists suppose. Dr Hildebrandt would not have us linger too long at the cross-roads where Wesley met Zinzendorf, lest we lose our doctrinal bearings. Not for him the Moravian short-cut to link Wesley with the great German reformer who had died nearly two centuries earlier. He prefers travelling back to the New Testament; that is the surest way to bring Wesley and Luther face to face.

This leads on to the second stage—'Synthesis'. Our author warns us that his metaphor is to be treated in no artificial culinary sense. 'The fruit of the Lutheran Reformation "comes out" in the Wesleyan Revival. . . . It is fruit without custard which we seek: the fruit of Reformation and Revival without the custard of Pietism.' Scottish churchmen will agree with the author's efforts to preserve the genuine flavour of doctrine and experience, to guard the fruit from that 'yellow, sticky stuff which, in season and out of season, is poured over the fruit dish'. No doubt Dr Hildebrandt has discovered through his own experience that popular Methodism is too lavish with the custard of pietistic unction. In the task of freeing the fruit from this cloying custard, he finds inspiration in a forgotten Lutheran theologian, Theodor Jellinghaus, whose book *Heil durch Christum* appeared in many editions (1880-1903). Dr Hildebrandt prefers

'Jelly' to custard, for he quotes him frequently. He considers that if Jellinghaus had been translated into English and read by educated 'Evangelicals', he might have saved such movements as 'Keswick' from at least one defect—'lack of a sound theological basis'. Today the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship aims at recovering for their communion the churchmanship of Wesley.

The mantle of Martin Luther fell upon John Wesley after an interval of two centuries. With this master-thought as clue, our author essays two formidable tasks—'The Revival of the Reformation' and 'The Reformation of the Revival'. Fortunately, he realises that most British readers lack equipment for the itinerary proposed. He offers his services as guide, and most of us will be grateful.

> To turn back from Wesley to Luther is at first sight like leaving open country in an expedition across deep waters and into high mountains; it is to exchange the gentle F-major of eighteenth century melodies for the strong D-minor of 'Old German' chorales; it is to enter into a world of contrasts, fascinating and terrifying, and although our generation has vastly exaggerated the complexity of the picture in the effort to stamp at least the early Luther as a 'dialectic' theologian, he still remains, compared with Wesley's *Einlinigkeit*, a man of *many dimensions*. His testament and warning to the Revival is in terms of Eph. 3.18, 'that ye may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth and height'. . . . The standing formula in which the Reformation summed up its doctrine of justification: *propter Christum—per fidem—sola gratia* indicates a three-dimensional corrective and extension of the Wesleyan position (p. 158).

Part III, 'Harmony', completes 'Synopsis' and 'Synthesis'. Visual aids and concentrated thought are completed by appeal to the ear. This final appeal is impressive, for music has a rightful place in religion. Who will under-estimate Bernard Manning's contribution to eighteenth century religion through *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*? Dr Hildebrandt declares: 'The Luther-Wesley synthesis finds expression in hymns no less than in spoken words; the doctrinal accord can be played as well as stated.' On the surface, there is little in common between the homely hymn so much in evidence at 'our chapel' and the stately *chorale* sung in a Lutheran cathedral. Yet when we disengage the essentials from the architectural setting, we find a fundamental unity. Dr Hildebrandt observes that in hymnology, as in doctrine, Wesley's break with the Moravians was of the utmost significance. He felt out of tune with their emotional, overwrought Gospel songs, just as his sense of reverence was affronted by their too familiar 'fondling' attitude towards Jesus. He preferred the larger and more bracing life of the Church to the close and mawkish atmosphere of the Conventicle. The Methodist Hymn Book, Dr Hildebrandt thinks, witnesses to the kinship of Luther and

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Wesley, although its varied editions carry ephemeral strata (Sankey-Moody-Bliss in one generation, 'Social Gospel' in another—represented by 'that outrageous hymn, *Rise up, O men of God*'). One feels that Part III would have been more effective had it been wrought on a bigger scale than a modest 'musical appendix'. Some of the numerous verses, culled from the M.H.B. and so liberally distributed in 'Synopsis' and 'Synthesis', might have been grouped to advantage in 'Harmony'. About 200 hymns in the M.H.B. are marshalled in a special index, to illustrate Lutheran and Wesleyan parallels. There is also a list of over thirty hymns, translated from the Lutheran originals and preserved in standard British collections; the 'traditional weak tune' is in each case offset by the 'congenial German tune'.

From Luther to Wesley has also special indexes of names, subjects, and Scriptural passages. Here is a book that provokes thought, although it may also provoke dissent by building up evidence to prove a thesis. Readers will find that this volume is 'easier going' than Dr Hildebrandt's previous book, *Melanchton: Alien or Ally?* (Cambridge, 1946). He has married his massive scholarship to an engaging English style, bright with vivid metaphor and abounding in arresting passages. How many British theologians could write as well in German, even assuming that they had a ready command of the language?

ANDREW L. DRUMMOND

The Misunderstanding of the Church. By E. BRUNNER. Lutterworth Press. 10s. 6d.

WITH his customary acumen and clarity Professor Brunner has gone right to the heart of our modern difficulties in relation to the Church. The Roman Catholic conception, as he points out, is plainly a caricature. But the Protestant isolation of the invisible from the organised visible churches misses the reality which we so obviously find in the New Testament. Nowhere, in fact, has the Church been properly understood in its New Testament sense, and it is the task of our generation to move back, or rather to work forward, through the churches to the Church.

To sustain his thesis Brunner gives us a short but penetrating analysis of the New Testament Church and its gradual perversion in ecclesiastical-development. This includes interesting chapters on the historical origin of the Church, the relation of the Church to the Apostles, the question of tradition, and the eschatological character of the Christian community. In the discussion of apostolic authority, Brunner takes into account the Anglo-Catholic view recently stated in *The Apostolic Ministry*, but he has little difficulty in showing that in many respects the original apostolate was *sui generis*, and that in any case it did not consist in formal government. The chapter on tradition is particularly interesting. As Brunner points out, the Reformers were not opposed to tradition, or genuine development, but only to the perversion or transformation of the basic message. An emphasis on the living Word necessarily implies tradition, but not the kind of tradition which consists in formal continuity, or organic evolution, or the mythical findings of an infallible Papacy. It is the continuous and cumulative transmitting of the Gospel.

The main conclusion which Brunner draws from his analysis is that the New Testament Church is not to be found in any of the historic churches, although elements of it are to be found in all of them. This is surely incontestable. But how the conclusion is to work out in the practical situation of the moment is not so clear. A purely organisational union will not of itself re-create the Church, as Brunner finely says. But since the Church has to be embodied in concrete, historical form, the problem can hardly be evaded. Nor can we really believe that with all their value, and the fellowship they offer, specialised inter-denominational societies can replace the churches as the true Church: a possibility which Brunner seems to consider in his penultimate chapter.

We are, in fact, left with an acute statement of the 'misunderstanding'. We are shown the need to set it right. But Brunner seems not to draw together the implicates of his analysis to give us the true understanding which alone will lead to practical reformation. It is not by practical measures, but only as the nature of the Church is truly understood, in relation to Jesus Christ, that the false development of the past can be put right. The primary task is to work, not to an organisational unity, but to that true understanding which is the pre-requisite of unity. The extent to which this book contributes even negatively to this task is the measure of its real importance.

G. W. Bromiley

Maris et femmes d'après saint Paul. By J.-J. von Allmen (Cahiers théologiques 29). Delachaux and Niestlé, Neuchatel, 1951.

The writer of this study remarks somewhat ruefully that in the matter of marriage, the Roman Catholics are on some points more faithful to the principles of the Reformation, submission to the Scriptures, than the actual Reformed Churches (p. 60, n. 1). Although he has primarily in mind the Swiss situation, his observation has some truth for us nearer home. The root of the matter surely is that the Reformed Churches have to rediscover marriage as a theological and not a sociological problem. It has to be approached, not by a study of primitive marriage customs amongst the Australian aborigines or the like, but by a fresh study of the Bible. This booklet, which comes as No. 29 of a series to which theologians and NT scholars are already in some considerable debt, takes up the problem where it ought first to be considered, in the NT.

The area surveyed is that of the Epistles traditionally ascribed to St. Paul. Sexuality is, according to Biblical teaching, a constitutive part of human nature, for while human beings can *have* blue eyes, they must *be* men or women (p. 10). This ought to give marriage a very fundamental place in the human situation; but in fact, at least at Corinth, it was being looked at askance, and the situation in that Church called forth St. Paul's most sustained discussion. There, because of the newness of the times, or because the age to come was already present, it seemed to some Christians that marriage ties had ceased to have significance. In Genesis it was 'good' for man that he should not be alone; but under the new dispensation, was not it 'good' for a man not to touch a woman? (1 Cor. 7.1) (p. 12).

This is the question St. Paul has to answer, and he comes out as a strong supporter of marriage as a form of Christian obedience or vocation (p. 19). It is notable that he does not suggest—as did certain sections in the Church in later ages—that it is justified as and only as a means of reproduction (p. 53, n. 1). He justifies it rather as the original divine purpose for man. Dr v. Allmen confesses his own surprise in discovering the extent to which Genesis is the foundation of St. Paul's teaching. God gave Eve to Adam, and in every Christian marriage, the Church through its minister declares the will of God in giving these Christian partners to each other (p. 22).

Chapter III discusses the typological significance of the married pair, and Eph. 5.22-33 is treated at some length. As the Christ-Church union commences only from the Cross, so the first 'victim' of marriage is the man, who must renounce himself, give himself (p. 28). Again the Christ-Church union is set in a consecrated domain, protected from the Powers of Evil; so too, marriage is the opposite of a profanation; it is the consecration of those who have the 'gift'. The husband is consecrated in giving himself; he consecrates his wife, bringing her to her true destiny, and so is to be regarded as her σωτήρ. Thus the Christian pair reflects the 'total Christ', reproducing on its own level the hierarchy of Christ and the Church of which He is the Head (p. 30). This leads to a consideration of the difficult passage, 1 Cor. 11.1-16, some of whose difficulties would be lessened, the writer agrees, could one adopt the supposition that here St. Paul has translated an Aramaic discipline text. He connects the idea of the woman as man's 'glory' in this passage with her description as man's 'body' in Eph. 5. She reveals her husband—for a man cannot make a more complete avowal of himself than by presenting the woman chosen by him (p. 32). The work of the man is to explain, to justify the woman; the work of the woman is to reveal the man. This is a matter of great importance. When the woman is referred to as her husband's body, it does not mean that she is his extension, but is on the contrary his manner of meeting himself. This in turn reflects on the meaning of the Church as the Body of Christ. She is not Christ continued, the Incarnation continued. One cannot pass without interruption from Christ to the Church. The Cross stands between. In being the Body of Christ, the Church meets her Lord; she does not prolong Him, but she expresses Him here and now. She does not replace Him, but makes Him visible, demonstrates Him without being confounded with Him (p. 33).

The Indissolubility of the Pair takes us, not only over the question of divorce, but to what was a live question in Corinth, the 'spiritual' marriages. In Paul's attitude in both cases there is implied the principle that God has given the husband and wife each to each. It does not now rest with them, either to repossess themselves of their own identity, or to 'repent' of what God has done. Everywhere Paul is against any 'spiritualising' of the sexual relationship. The Lord is for, not against, the body; Christian marriage does not place the pair in a 'spiritual' realm; it sanctifies the flesh and blood situation in which they have to live (p. 43).

The existence of 'spiritual marriages' at Corinth suggests that the question was already being discussed: what happens to men and women after death? Are there pairs beyond the resurrection? Dr v. Allmen decides that St. Paul leaves it an open question. He does, however, note some strong arguments for believing that the Christian pair is not finally destroyed by death. It will perhaps be not the least of our surprises in the Day of the Lord, he concludes, to find ourselves reunited, freed from all blemish, with the partner who in this life has been our peace and our happiness (p. 51).

Two short closing chapters consider the family and the Christian couple in the world. Since the Christian couple has to reveal to the world the truth of all marriage, it must accept all its different elements, in the profundity of their creature reality. It must accept them all without falsifying its own nature by attempting to 'spiritualise' marriage. The 'ministry' of marriage is to adjust these elements for the glory of God and the peace of the world, and, in so doing, it will exercise a sacramental prophetism, for it becomes itself a sign of the origin and divine destination of all marriage. For the pagan world in its sexual confusion, the Christian couple is both a judgment and a promise. It is a judgment, in so far as its own presence in the world in fulfilment of the will of God, calls into question all merely human solutions of man's sexual nature; and it is a promise, for its existence is an earnest in this age of the fulfilment of God's purposes for man in the age to come (pp. 60-1).

Again and again throughout this study we realise what alterations of emphasis and interpretation took place very early in Christian tradition. Th. Preiss has worked out in detail the replacement of the Pauline 'participation' by a different doctrine, that of 'imitation of Christ', in the works of Ignatius.[1] Professor T. F. Torrance has similarly considered the change which came over one particular doctrine, that of grace, in the Apostolic Fathers.[2] Dr v. Allmen's study suggests a similar situation in Christian teaching on marriage, although he does not deal with it in detail. There is an immense alteration of emphasis and understanding between the Pauline tradition and, say, Clement of Alexandria, and clear evidence that 'the early Church, and particularly the sects, on the basis of a dualism, strange to Bible thought, strayed from the teaching of the Scriptures. . . .' (p. 17, n. 4). In so far as, in many respects, we are still straying, Dr v. Allmen has made a notable contribution towards helping us back.

IAN A. MUIRHEAD

A Faith to Proclaim. By JAMES S. STEWART. Hodder and Stoughton. 9s. 6d.

A YEAR or two ago a bulky volume, entitled *The Royalty of the Pulpit* by Edgar De Witt Jones was published in America. It was devoted to an evaluation of the entire series of Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching from 1872 to 1949. Never in all that long period was there a series of lectures which more justly deserved to shelter under that description than the most recent series which could not of course be included in that book. For it is precisely the 'royalty' of preaching which is the commanding note of this compact, succinct, and enormously vital exposition by Professor Stewart of the essence of the Gospel which we are commissioned to preach. Although the method of treatment is very different from Dr Henry Sloane Coffin's *What to Preach*, the volume in the Warrack series with which this volume has the closest kinship, all who read it will experience the same sense of indebtedness as to that book of a quarter of a century ago, because it is so full of what must be the living substance of all sermons. It is not indeed a book to turn to for easily-obtained sermon suggestions—though there are not a few—but it is a book which provides with remarkable completeness and conviction the background of thought and faith necessary for all sermons. A minister who feels the need to check his own preaching, by asking himself 'Now, am I leaving out something that is central, is my presentation of the Gospel to my people in danger of becoming ill-balanced?' (and this can be a rewarding exercise for us), will find a most reliable guide in Professor Stewart's book.

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[1] *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 1938, pp. 197 ff.

[2] T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers.*

The key-word of the book is 'Proclaim', and there is in it that warm glow, that pulsating, exuberant conviction that we have been accustomed to associate with all Professor Stewart's writing and speaking. To use one of his own words, these lectures are 'supercharged' with the passion and intensity of unshakable assurance. The voice of the preacher is heard on every page, as it ought to be when such a theme is being expounded. We are carried forward, wave on wave, on a deep-flowing tide of thought and emotion. There is nothing detached, formal or dispassionate here and the point of view is that preaching the Gospel in a detached or dispassionate way is a great sin—which is surely the only true point of view. Accordingly, this book is also exceedingly rich in the devotional sense, especially the chapters which deal with the Cross and personal communion with Christ.

The temptation to quote in this review sentences which sparkle, thrill, pierce, or convey the sound of a trumpet has to be resisted, because they are so numerous. Behind all the fine lectures is the assumption that Christianity is primarily life, and supernatural life which comes down to us from above. There is no place here for a de-supernaturalised Gospel, for that is 'religiously indefensible and critically unsound'. The only antidote to easy-going vague religiosity is the proclamation (not arguing or apologising) of the divine, decisive facts of the Incarnation, Cross and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, facts which are 'once-for-all' in character, facts 'which would make every good Platonist's hair stand on end' (Brunner). To preach is to harness these facts in compelling relevance to the time in which we live.

There is no consolation in Professor Stewart's pages for those who want to think lightly of sin, but vast assurance for those bent upon getting a hold of the necessity, the possibility, and the transforming value of forgiveness. It is notable in this connexion that the writer does not shrink from a courageous and unequivocal tackling of the demonic element in life, a New Testament emphasis which he believes has been seriously neglected. When he comes to write of the Cross, he sets it forth as belonging to the very ground-plan of things—which is one of the reasons why the Apostles never regarded the Cross just as a crime compassed by human wickedness. The Cross has to be related to a full Christology. All theories of the atonement which do not proceed beyond the Cross are criticised as inadequate, and so the book moves on to blend together in one triumphant whole the six notes which have to resound through the full preaching of the resurrection, and the resurrection has to be linked up with creation itself. The book draws to its close with a very confident claim that Christianity can be defended intellectually and integrated with all our community life and, because it has a stronger ideology than any of its rivals, is able to carry the war into the enemy's camp. Yet, important as these are, they are not the deepest needs of the contemporary situation in evangelism. The final emphasis is on living, personal relationship with Christ, and there is a spirited defence against the attack of those who regard this claim for immediate communion with a living Lord as 'sheer emotionalism'.

At several points in the argument, there are hints of the necessity for a fuller treatment of an aspect of evangelism which is very torturing and tantalising—how and to what extent the Gospel becomes incarnate in social action, what may be expected as a result of the impact of Christianity upon the whole community life of the world. Professor Stewart has necessary words of warning to speak on this subject, but he is so conscious of its importance and magnitude that in his Preface he suggests that it would 'require another book'. It is to be hoped that that is a promise. May it come soon, for this is urgent.

George S. Gunn

The New Road to Bethlehem, Studies in Spiritual Reconstruction. By Philip W. Lilley. Blackie and Son Ltd. 8s. 6d.

The New Road to Bethlehem is a volume of sermons of quite outstanding excellence. Mr Lilley's sermons have many merits. They are written in an English style of singular felicity; they are admirable in the lucidity of the arrangement of their material; but above all they have two merits that no one can fail to see—Mr Lilley can not only write a sermon, he can also choose a text, and when he has chosen it he can illustrate it in the most illuminating way. We have seldom seen sermons so lit up by illustrations which are apt and unhackneyed. We take as an example the sermon entitled 'The

Dangers of Church-going' which takes its start from Ezekiel 33.32. Dr Orchard is quoted: 'We are anxious about those who do not go to worship: we ought to be more anxious about those who do.' First, there is the danger of regarding the sermon as 'something upon which we must bring to bear our critical faculty'. 'We may chew but never swallow or assimilate the word of the Lord.' Allied to that there is the danger of taking 'a merely literary interest in the Bible'. Mark Rutherford writes: 'One may be converted from hostility and sin, but how insuperably hard to get at a soul deeply entrenched in aesthetics.' Also allied to this is the danger of expecting 'to get an emotional thrill out of every religious service'. We may apply this attitude to Jesus Christ Himself. 'We may be deeply moved by the pictures of Christ bearing His Cross, and when we listen to someone singing "There is a green hill far away without a city wall", our eyes may become dim with tears. But what our Lord wants is not our tears, but our hearts and our wills.' Second, Mr Lilley goes on to ask, How can we avoid this? The danger of emotional experience which has no effect in will and in action is serious. The effect of apostolic preaching was to make men ask, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' The awakened conscience, the surrender of the heart and will must be our response to the Christian message from the preacher's lips. We must pray for the vision of God which strips away self-complacency and self-righteousness; we must pray for the courage which deals heart to heart and face to face with God. 'It is not the man who admires, but the man who trembles who is on the way to salvation.' This volume is full of suggestive thoughts; it will have the great merit of setting the reader's mind working for itself. If we read it for no other reason than to examine ourselves in light of its wise and gracious and yet penetrating presentation of the truth, it would do us infinite good. There is a foreword by the Right Rev. George Johnstone Jeffrey, D.D. Even Mr Lilley can slip up. On page 39 he writes: 'St James goes the length of saying that "the love of money is the root of all evil".' It is true that the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is a matter for argument, but it has not yet been suggested that St. James wrote them.

William Barclay

Henry Suso. Little Book of Eternal Wisdom and Little Book of Truth. Edited by James Clark, Faber and Faber. 18s. net.

To any one familiar with the well known 'Life' of Henry Suso, the *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*—now adequately translated by the Professor of German in Glasgow University—offers few surprises.

Both subject and style are what one would expect from the beloved 'Servitor'. The subject is the Passion of Christ, the style is that of a true poet and mystic, and the form is dialogue. Christ (the Eternal Wisdom) is presented in conversation with His Servant, describing His Sufferings and inmost thoughts at Calvary, not always in a manner that the modern reader relishes, for Suso had a morbid strain in him, but with undeniable spiritual insight.

Suso, like A Kempis, holds it to be our chief pursuit to meditate upon the life of Christ and His sufferings in order that we may become inwardly cleansed and detached. Hence the moving chapters on the dignity of human suffering, as a reflection of the Cross. 'All the saints are cup bearers of a suffering man, for they had all tested it themselves, and cry out with one voice that it is free from poison and a wholesome drink.' Hence also his exuberant praise of God for His love to men. And here a lover of Nature as well as of Christ pours out his heart in rapt devotion. Striking metaphors and similes from Nature together with quaint hyperbole are used with telling effect. Even 'the frogs in their ditches praise Thee, and if they cannot sing, at least they can croak'. When his body has turned to dust, he asks that from each grain of dust eternal praise should pierce through the hard stone to the face of God.

The same lyrical note is evident in the fine chapter on Holy Communion ('How one should receive God lovingly') and in the chapter 'Of the boundless joys of Heaven', to select only two.

The Third Part of the book—one lengthy chapter—summarises the whole in the form of a hundred meditations briefly outlined, intended for use at the canonical hours, and an excellent guide still for personal devotions.

The *Little Book of Truth* seems unequally yoked with the *Eternal Wisdom* for it is admittedly one of the obscurest works in mystical literature. Yet it completes the picture of Suso himself who was a theologian as well as a poetical mystic. Here he appears as the disciple of Eckhart, discussing the nature of true abandonment and refuting the teaching of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. To Suso there is a gulf fixed between God and man, mystic union notwithstanding, Suso's robust commonsense reveals itself also in his advice to those who are befogged by dubious abstractions to 'hold to the common teaching of holy Christendom as one sees many simple men doing'.

The volume is prefaced by a most useful and concise Introduction from the pen of the translator.

C. R. WALKER

THE TIME OF HOPE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

by The Rev. Professor PAUL S. MINEAR

THE selection of hope as the central theme of the Evanston Assembly in 1954 has already prompted an intensive world-wide examination of the Church's mind and the Biblical witness. It has provoked the publication of many essays which bring the basic issues into sharper focus. Among these issues is the problem of grasping aright the connexions between the present activity of God in history and the eschatological future. As the Advisory Committee has expressed it, the question has to do with 'the relative emphasis to be laid upon the witness to the coming Christ and upon the witness to the present Christ'. A few participants in the discussion argue for an exclusive stress on one or the other; in reaction, others call for maintaining a balance between these two accents. The flaw in both of these solutions is that they assume a dichotomy or even a contradiction between the two witnesses. They treat Christ as if He were divided, as if His present activity were not being empowered and directed by the same eternal purpose, the same Spirit, as His future activity. Others have seen a polarity in the Christian message at this point, that is productive of a necessary and fruitful tension. To illustrate this tension we might instance Paul's confession: 'I press on to make it my own, because Christ Jesus has made me his own. Brethren, I do not consider that I have made it my own; but one thing I do . . . '. There is creative tension here, but its source does not lie precisely in the distinction between Christ's present and future activity. The degree of interdependence is greater than the word tension indicates.

The problem, then, is how to conceive of this interdependence and how to describe it. The difficulty in grasping the integral unity stems from our initial perceptions of time, and how time is related to the Christian hope. It is our modern perception of time that induces us to separate so sharply the

Christ who is from Him who is to come, that leads us to focus our thought on the discontinuities between His present and future work rather than those between His work and the work of His Adversary. It is because of this same modern outlook that we instinctively view the movement of time as following a single direction, at a single pace, and with an impersonal momentum. Time is far more complex than we suppose; so also is hope; doubly so are their interconnexions. These connexions must be explored more thoroughly before we can make much progress in recovering the full dimensions of 'the one hope that belongs to our calling'.

Two Interpretations of Christ's Relation to Time

It may help to orient our thinking if we begin by summarising the position of two contemporary Biblical theologians, who represent the two most divergent tendencies. I speak of Oscar Cullmann and Rudolf Bultmann.

For Professor Cullmann the Biblical concept of time provides a necessary presupposition of all theology, whether Biblical or systematic, since all theology is but a continuation of Biblical history (*Christ and Time*, pp. 23, 27). What is this Biblical concept? A simple rectilinear notion of unending time (p. 48 f). Time precedes creation and continues beyond Parousia. It moves continuously at a constant, measured tempo. It moves irresistibly in one direction: past, present, future. It moves steadily forward and upward. Revelation and salvation both proceed along this line, both visible and invisible events being subjected to its progress. Redemptive history follows the same temporal sequence as secular history, since the redemption of man and the redemption of time are inseparable. Time is so thoroughly objective that sin does not damage or change man's time-consciousness nor does salvation affect it. Time is such a reality that its boundaries may be reduced to spatial images, its movement may be charted, and its meaning may be fixed in stable equations. (There is some oscillation, however, even in the charts. Professor Cullmann can speak of time as a line that moves, as a fixed line along which events move, and as a line formed when men join separate events into a meaningful sequence.)

The connexion of eternity with time is for this scholar a relatively simple matter. Eternity is not a realm opposed to time (as the Greeks conceived it) but is simply time that is unending. The basic contrast falls between limited and unlimited time. The time of the present age is limited; that of the coming age unlimited. The coming age, of course, is limited on one side since it has a beginning, but it is unlimited on the other (p. 46 f).

The advent of Christ does not mark the beginning of endless time. For that we must await the Parousia. The story of Jesus is history's midpoint, the centre of meaning. The Cross and Resurrection do not produce a new time (either qualitatively or quantitatively). They reveal the meaning of all time, fore and aft. This disclosure is more important for salvation than the inception of endless time. The Golgotha event is a once-for-all, efficacious act of salvation, the D-Day that makes V-Day certain. To be saved by faith is to find in this event the key first to Biblical history, then to the whole realm of redemptive history, and finally to the total process of world history. Christ is now redeeming time (1) by standing at its midpoint; (2) by disclosing the character of the entire line; (3) by representing the whole line as its Mediator. Christians still look forward to his Return as the beginning of endless time, but the distance of this event from the present moment has lost any decisive importance. More important is the fact that the Christian stands *between* D-Day and V-Day, *between* Christ's resurrection and return.

This Christ is, of course, a *skandalon*, the nature of this offence being reducible to terms of time. The believer accepts the postulate of unilinear, irreversible, relative time, and in this he agrees with the secular historian. The believer, however, goes on to posit faith in Jesus as absolute and normative midpoint of time's line, and at this point the historian is offended (pp. 21-3, 123-5). How can a single, once-for-all event become the final clue to all process? The answer lies in an appeal to another Biblical category: election-representation. In God's election of Israel all men were represented. When Israel forfeited its high calling, God chose the remnant to represent all Israel. Ultimately the vocation of the suffering servant fell to the one man, the Messiah. In His election He represents the righteous remnant, Israel, humanity. Through Him God calls and commissions a new Israel as means for consummating the covenant with all flesh. Thus both the history of Israel and the history of the Church belong to the incarnation of Jesus Christ (p. 103). He not only is an event that takes place at history's centre; He is a Person whom God has appointed representative of all creation. Through Him God will redeem the whole sequence of the ages. Christ-event . . . Christ-line . . . Christ-process; these are the important constituents of Cullmann's Christology. God is Lord over time. Jesus Christ shares in that Lordship. In Him and through Him the believer receives 'the saving gifts of the entire time-line' (p. 76).

In contrast with Dr Cullmann, for whom time remains an essential constituent of eschatological process, Dr Bultmann sees in redemption a genuine termination and transformation of time. For the former, man apart from faith stands blinded to the true meaning of temporal process; for the latter, this same man lives in tragic bondage to temporal process. For the former, the Christ-event reveals the meaning of the total historical process and line. For the latter, a victory is won in the Christ-event over the enslaving forces of existence, and faith enables man to share in this victory, with its emancipation from bondage to process and succession.

In our epitome of Bultmann's thought, let us begin with his view of Jesus' message. To Jesus the matter of supreme importance is God's kingdom. As an act of divine deliverance, this kingdom is 'wholly supernatural' is 'the absolute miracle', is 'diametrically opposed to all relative values', opposed as well 'to all the here and the now' (*Jesus and the Word*, pp. 35-46). God's power alone constitutes the heavenly realm; consequently those who seek entrance must separate themselves wholly from the present world. The eschatological announcement is the signal for radical decision—for eschatological repentance and hope.

Professor Bultmann tends to identify God's kingdom with God's future, and to set this future over against the whole human sequence of past-present-future. God's future 'is not something which is to come in the course of time'. It is 'a power which, although it is entirely future, wholly determines the present. . . .'

> Future and present are not related in the sense that the kingdom begins as a historical fact in the present and achieves its fulfilment in the future;

> nor in the sense that an inner, spiritual possession of personal attributes or qualities of soul constitutes a present hold on the kingdom, to which only the future consummation is lacking. Rather the kingdom of God is genuinely future, because it is not a metaphysical entity or condition, but the future act of God, which can be in no sense something given in the present. None the less this future determines man in his present, and exactly for that reason is true future. . . . The coming of the kingdom of God is therefore not really an event in the course of time, which is due to occur sometime and toward which man can take a definite attitude or hold himself neutral. (op. cit., p. 51 f)

Jesus' mission was to prepare men to confront this Reign of God that was breaking in. He did not proclaim Himself as the Messiah. He Himself, with His deeds and His message, was a sign of the times, signifying the demand for decision (*Theology of the New Testament*, E.T., pp. 7-10). His teaching, like that of the other rabbis, stressed the need for obedience. Unlike theirs, His teaching demanded a radical obedience that would correspond in absoluteness with the utterly new situation, the dawning of God's Reign. 'He understood and proclaimed His hour as the last hour' (*Jesus and the Word*, p. 52).

After Calvary, Messiahship and Kingdom became one. Jesus had been the bearer of the message; He now becomes its essential content (*Theology*, p. 33). His death and resurrection together implicitly define 'the meaning of eschatological occurrence', and faith in Him as Son of Man defines the disciples as an eschatological congregation (op. cit., p. 36 f). The Cross, the announcement of the Crucified as Saviour, faith as radical obedience to this announcement—these three are inseparable moments in a single eschatological event. This total event is presupposed by the affirmation that Jesus is Lord. By this affirmation man articulates the new understanding of his true situation before God (op. cit., p. 46).

Any confession of Christ, to make sense, must grow out of that distinctively eschatological act known as faith. Faith is an absolute decision that affects man's temporal commitments. It induces a radical dying to the world, and an equally radical trust in God's future. Such a revolution is possible only because of the gift of eschatological grace. 'As new possibility, faith is the newly opened way of salvation' (op. cit., p. 329). 'The individual actual life of the believer, living not out of himself but out of the divine deed of salvation, is determined by Christ' (op. cit., p. 328). To know Christ and the power of His resurrection is the state of 'being completely determined by the salvation-occurrence' (ibid.).

The same conditions apply to every confession of the Church, that eschatological community that lives out of the gift of the Spirit. The Church is called, is born, is predestined out of God's future. In this birth, the covenant in the death of Christ separates it radically from the world. Its life remains a pilgrimage, since its true citizenship is in the City yet to come. Its continuing temporal situation lies between the 'no longer' and the 'not yet' (ibid., p. 100). The hope of the 'not yet' provides the impetus for viewing the dying world as a 'no longer'. As a new creation, the Church is nourished by the food of the covenant, the body and blood of the Messiah. This body is at once the crucified body and the body of glory. Unity in this dying-rising body constitutes the unity of the eschatological community (ibid., p. 146 f). Thus for both the individual and Church, the eschatological event fuses together a radical breach and a radical revision of the world's sense of time.

How then does Dr Bultmann conceive of the relation between time and Christ? He finds no meaning or value in the various two-nature formulae, such as those adopted at Chalcedon. Similarly he finds little theological relevance in debates over Jesus' Messianic consciousness. Efforts by objective historians to define the nature of the historical Jesus are bound to fail. For Bultmann the Event itself is absolute mystery and miracle. The fact of Jesus as an historical figure is essential, but not so are the exact sequence of events in His earthly career or the unique content of His teaching. The act of God in death and resurrection is essential to faith, but not the various mythological descriptions of that act. We know not the nature of the resurrection, but we know that the promised redemption is dependent upon this divine act. In this act was established an inner causal connexion between Jesus' resurrection and the general resurrection, between God's gift of life to Christ and the hope by which the Church lives.

The double-sidedness of this event absorbs most of the strategic importance once assigned to the double-sidedness of Jesus' Person. In this event meet contingency and possibility; necessity and choice; the world and the Kingdom; the old man and the new. The basic contrast is not assigned to the meeting of temporal and non-temporal reality, nor to the juxtaposition of a temporal now to a temporal then. The life of Christ and the life in Christ may be described as future-and-present, future-in-the-present, or, better still, future-determining-the-present. It is a future life that Christ has already brought and shared. It is hope of the glory of God, a hope proceeding out of Spirit-filled love. We live by the life to come. Through hope in Him there is a daily renewal of our inner nature.

> Life is a present reality in the Christian's openness for the future and in his being determined by it. For the person one used to be is crucified with Christ; his *soma* of sin is destroyed, the 'world' for him no longer exists. . . . He is 'a new creation'. (*Theology*, p. 348)

Dr Bultmann does not claim a unity of New Testament witness for this conception of Christ. Before Paul it was only dimly seen; it was present only in an implicit fashion in the events. After Paul there were many deviations from this central redemptive meaning; in Paul and John the existential meaning of the myth comes most clearly to expression. Within the Biblical period, Dr Bultmann finds operating most of the erroneous tendencies which in later centuries have obscured this central revelation of the character of redeemed and liberated existence. Believers identify the divine future with a temporal expectation (op. cit., p. 92). They exchange faith in Christ for conventional assertion of dogmas about Him. By their Christological formulas they turn Him into an idol to be cultically worshipped, forgetting the act of divine deliverance which must be ever renewed. They worship Him as present Lord, ignoring all hope for His return. They allow the mythological language about Him to supplant genuine eschatological faith. Thus Christology becomes part of a religious cult that serves as an occasional interruption of secular living, or as a sweet guarantee of individual immortality. By contrast, genuine faith releases a divine power that determines the whole person in his present everyday living. Only by faith in God's kingdom does one appropriate the gift of freedom, a salvation that is 'already present as anticipated future' (op. cit., p. 152). Only by such faith does one rightly apprehend the life of Christ.

It is not my purpose here to engage in a critique of these two scholars, except as that critique may be implied in my own effort to interpret the Biblical evidence. I may say, however, that both have called attention to indubitable elements and accents in the New Testament message. Yet both operate with conceptions of time which are basically modern, and basically philosophical; moreover, these conceptions appear to me to be too simple to cope with the complexities of temporal process itself. Let me be specific.

The natural man has two alternative ways of sensing the movement of time. One common-sense notion visualises time as moving irreversibly and irresistibly forward from the past through the present into the future. The past is always prior to the present, the present to the future. This type of perception is probably the primary type for most of us. But there is a second notion that exerts a strong claim to being in line with common-sense. This is a conception sketched by Augustine who perceived time as moving from the future through the present into the past.

> From what place, and by which way, and witherto passes this time while it is ameasuring? Whence, but from the future? Which way, but through the present? Wither, but into the past? From that therefore which is not yet; by that, which hath no space; into that, which is not still. (*Confessions* xi, 21)

Here again the direction is one-way and irreversible. The first notion locates creation at the point where the past leads into the future; the second locates it where the future becomes present. In the former, actuality precedes possibility and determines it; in the second, possibility precedes actuality and determines it. Cullmann's thought seems to deal only with the former; with it he is wholly content, whether he is discussing secular history or the history of redemption. *Qua* historian, Bultmann assumes that the former notion is the only one permissible to historical study. He is content with it in its determination of methods, but not in its circumscription of human existence. *Qua* believer, he views the origin of life in God's grace and freedom as wholly future. The pure future, however, never ceases to be future. It determines the present, but does not enter into closer relationship to it.

It does not take long in comparing these alternate views of temporal sequence to discover that each of the terms carries shifting connotations and hidden ambiguities. It is quite possible within a secular perspective to entertain these two opposing sequences simultaneously. One may speak of the future as that possibility which, freely chosen, defines the self, and at the same time speak of the future as being determined by the complex web of causes operating out of the past. In one context, the past seems to have sprung forth from previous futures; in another, the past precedes every future. What shall we do with the conflict between these two perspectives? It is too simple to assign Augustine's conception to the realm of psychological processes, while retaining the more deterministic cycle as applicable to historical, natural and cosmic processes. This would introduce a fatal cleavage into man's universe that would either deny the ultimate ground of human freedom or the ultimate ground of cosmic process.

So far we have been speaking of perspectives open to the natural man; the man of faith may well find such terms as future, past, present, even more ambiguous. One may speak with Bultmann of a pure future that determines the present without ever becoming present. One may speak of an eternal future that is equidistant from every present. One might hold that the future Kingdom actually enters the present but does not then recede into the past. One should distinguish between future hopes that are the product of the past and the hope which springs from the promise of God; between the future hopes that are made possible by the past, and those which the past fosters as illusions and compensations. In any case, the interpretation of the work of Christ will necessitate some clearer definitions of His sovereignty over the various kinds of temporal sequence. Let us look now more closely at some New Testament perceptions of this sovereignty.

Temporal Components in the Life of Christ

Time is not a simple but a complex reality with many components: succession, duration, simultaneity, speed, measurability, irreversibility. There are three aspects of time, however, which appear to be most deeply changed by faith. These three we may call the direction of time's movement, its momentum, and its motivation (none of these three words exactly fits its function). We will discuss these three in order, although it is difficult to disentangle them.

1. *The Direction of Time's Movement*

In the Bible may be found recognition of both types of temporal sequence which we have noted. There is a process that moves forward from the past into the present; there is also a process that moves proleptically from the future into the present. The New Testament treats the first as particularly characteristic of the age that is passing away; the second as characteristic of the age that comes. The basic antinomy does not lie between Being and Becoming; nor does it lie between the element of transiency and that of timelessness; rather it lies *between that which passes away and that which comes.* (This may be found in the Old Testament, but not so clearly or constantly as in the New.) One important example of this attitude is the Pauline antithesis between those who are children of Abraham according to the flesh and those who are children of the promise. From Abraham there are two lines of descent. There are many descendants according to the flesh. But none of these, even though he be circumcised, can lay claim to being a true son unless he is also a child of the promise. Furthermore, every child of the promise becomes a true son, even though there be no biological, national or cultural connexion. All are children of the promise who share Abraham's faith. (The primary sources are Rom. 4.9; Gal. 3.4; but see also Eph. 1.2; Heb. 6.11.)

Are we to think of these two lines of descent as temporally parallel, both moving from Abraham down to the present? That is possible and presumably that is what most readers do. But that does not do justice to the contrast Paul had in mind. The sequences of the two lines may be parallel, but, if so, they are reversed in direction. Quite obviously descent according to the flesh moves from past to present; the present pedigree depends upon biological and cultural continuity. But how may we visualise the direction of movement in the case of the sons of the promise? Gentiles become sons of Abraham only at the moment of election and faith. Their present status seems to spring by adoption out of the future, not by inheritance out of the past. There is abrupt discontinuity between this line of descent and the other.

What is the promise which produces such sons? It is God's intention as a Creator 'who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist' (Rom. 4.17). This is reminiscent of the Genesis stories where God's Word is sent forth and does not return void, because it has the power to create the conditions of its own fulfilment. Through the Old Testament may be traced the central conviction that God alone has the power to create new things, and that apart from Him nothing new is created (cf. Isa. 44.24-8). The existence of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, and of all their true descendants is thus grounded in *this promise* of a new creation, and *in this new creation* via the promise.

What is the faith by which this existence is realised? In Abraham's case it is total dependence upon God's promise, readiness to hope against hope, confidence that does not waver when the present situation, as conditioned by the past, makes the hope entirely incredible. Faith considers the assurance of God's grace to be a sufficient support for hope. Out of this faith springs a new righteousness, based not on man's past performance but on the new gift of God. Thus did Abraham become the father of many sons and thus were men born anew as sons of Abraham. This new adoption, to be sure, is closed to a Nicodemus who relies on past history as the sole basis of future hope, and who cannot therefore understand how a man can be born again (John 3). Unlike Abraham, Nicodemus cannot believe that all things are possible with God; he cannot hope against hope, but allows present circumstances to dictate future possibilities. Those who trust in the past (the Law and its consequences) are really children of wrath; those who trust in God's promise are simultaneously His sons and Abraham's.

The two lines of descent differ not only in their origin but also in their destiny. Those who rely on descent from Abraham *lose* their inheritance. Such reliance is characteristic of sin. This is why sin always has the same temporal direction: it moves forward from the past into the present—toward death, toward a future that is empty and vain, a future that reveals what has all along been the actual situation. God's election reverses things. 'I will have mercy on whom I have mercy' (Rom. 9.15). God's grace is the source of freedom. An unheard-of possibility enters actuality. Grace enters man's sin-burdened existence from the future and affects it retroactively with the free gift of forgiveness for sinners. This forgiveness is able to overcome all the trespasses of men from the beginning of time, is able to replace every time-bound slavery with freedom. Beginning from God who is the Omega-Alpha, grace pushes toward 'acquital and life for all men' (5.18), toward the sharing with all men of the power that springs anew from God's promise, apprehended through faith. Men never arrive at grace by passing through sin, nor at sin by passing through grace. Slaves of sin arrive only at death, at a death that includes all men. But slaves of God are drawn into a life that progressively penetrates the realm of death. By living out of this eschatological world, slaves are enabled to die to sin in their own existence, and to die for others whose bondage is yet unbroken. Such dying enables the grace to abound more fully, with the consequent expansion of thanksgiving to God.

We seem to be justified, therefore, in concluding that we must sharply distinguish between two lines of descent in terms of their origin and their destiny. In one case there is a continuum whose directional drift may be indicated as past-present; in the other we deal with a future-present continuum. The first is called 'this age' or 'this world' by the New Testament; the second is called the Kingdom of God or the new age. The first is constituted by its *passingness*; the form of this world passes away (1 Cor. 7.31). The second is constituted by its *comingness*; where the new creation appears, there all things become new.

2. *Momenta of the Two Lines of Descent*

In the Biblical sense of time more is involved than the direction of movement; each movement has a definite momentum, a structure of relationships that constitute the qualitative thrust of the time. Already we have anticipated this factor by associating sin with descent according to the flesh. Now we should examine this element of momentum more closely. We may use for illustration Paul's antithesis between the law of sin and the law of the Spirit (Rom. 8). The term law itself connotes a structure of dependences, a pattern of influences that produce unvarying results. The source of the first law is self, of the second is God. Sin begins by setting the mind on the flesh, taking orders from the flesh, seeking the desires of the flesh. Sin, reinforced by the Torah, makes one indebted to the flesh, with no prospect of ever being quit of that debt. The sinner will always be in arrears, his debt pyramiding, at compound interest, with the Torah nagging him about his just obligations. (Kierkegaard's picture of sin potentiating itself, in *Sickness unto Death*, is relevant here.) Existence produces a crescendo in the discords of fear, of slavery, of futility, of hostility to God. Men find themselves bound ever more tightly into the body of death, their present determined by the fateful legacy from Adam. Their future is already behind them; ahead of them is nothing but their past. Their movement bears a steady gravitation toward death. The power of this *towardness*, which defines their selfhood, is demonstrated when men join in crucifying their Redeemer.

Only one temporal momentum is stronger than the power of sin; it is the power that stems from 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus'. The origin and destiny of this law is God's coming Kingdom. The Spirit is the power of that Kingdom, proleptically operating among men. Colliding with the law of sin on Calvary, this law of the Spirit triumphed. In the resurrection this Spirit became a life-giving Spirit, coming to men who were dead because of sin and bringing them to new birth as sons of God, and promising ultimate redemption for their bodies. The Spirit provided a new object on which to set the mind, new strength by which to walk, a whole range of eschatological joys. He reversed the momentum of age-long hostility toward God and cancelled the inherited debt. He established a vital continuum between man's today and God's tomorrow, furnishing both the words of mans' prayers and the needed intercession before the throne of grace. Those who receive the Spirit are turned *toward* life; their existence is defined by this *towardness*. Native to this existence is unceasing prayer, total gratitude, unyielding trust, unwearied waiting on God.

How may we most aptly characterise the momentum and structure of these colliding worlds? No unilinear diagram will suffice for either field of force. In the case of the law of sin, as we have seen, there is a movement from the past into the present, but there is nothing forthcoming in the future except that futility which has been implicit since the Fall. All meaning is corrupted by passingness. There is nothing to deliver men from the body of death. Death, in fact, becomes a dynamic power in its own right, a devilish tyrant who fights constantly to preserve and extend his realm. Strictly speaking, the world has no future so long as it remains a realm of slavery.

Death's tyranny, however, is broken by the act of God in the death-resurrection. God's grace moves toward man from the promised End, enabling man to live *toward* the promise. God's call determines man's life as a pilgrim; it is a call, which, when heard, impels him forward and upward. This movement from the future into the present so that the present may seek the future is empowered by the Spirit. The promise not only defines the direction of movement; it also furnishes the momentum to realise itself. The Messiah is carrying out a planned campaign against all the forces of evil. The Church and its members obey His commands, and find in so doing abundant evidence of His power to redeem an evil time, to replace passingness by comingness.

We have mentioned the conflict between these two lines of descent and between these two momenta. We will not rightly grasp the conflict unless we rightly assess the element of motivation in the two realms.

3. *The Motivation of Time's Movement*

Those who are adopted as God's sons are predestined to be conformed to the image of the Messiah. The image of that Messiah is made clear in the motives that led Him toward the Cross. To be His brother and co-heir, one must suffer with Him. To save His life, His follower must lose it, must 'be killed all the day long', must die daily. His body becomes a living sacrifice, an expression of the transformed mind. A startling picture of the life in Christ is given by the apostle:

> We are treated as imposters, and yet are true;
> As unknown, and yet well known;
> As dying, and behold we live;
> As punished, and yet not killed;
> As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing;
> As poor, yet making many rich;
> As having nothing, and yet possessing everything.
> (2 Cor. 6.8-10)

Are these paradoxes chosen simply in order to stun readers with their rhetorical brilliance? Are they merely hyperboles that wither under sober examination? No, we must treat them as accurate descriptions of the believer's temporal orientation.

It must be admitted, of course, that if these paradoxes are set against the background of a single-directioned time-clock, they contain contradictions that cannot be resolved. One cannot die and yet live. But they should be viewed as the encounter of two mutually incompatible times, two patterns of existence that move in opposite directions. The apostles are eschatological messengers, vanguards of the King to announce His imminent arrival. In this King's country they are true, well-known, alive, joyful, rich and able to share that wealth with others. The source of life and wealth is inexhaustible because it comes from this coming Realm. It is in being possessed by the Messiah that they possess everything. All this characterises their existence as sons of promise. But in the old age, where they are viewed according to the flesh, they are wretched impostors. Here they are punished as traitors. Here they literally are penniless. And strangely enough, the apostles accept that condition as just. They follow a mission that makes it virtually inevitable. To be heirs of the coming age in which all things belong to them makes them servants of men in this age where they have nothing. The movement of God's grace from the kingdom toward men impels them to move from life toward death, to share the dying life of the Master, for this is precisely the movement through death to life. He became poor in order to make many rich. Love comes into the world to die with the world and for it, in order that out of that death glory may fill all creation. Here there is a deceptive double motion: what appears to be passing through life toward death is actually passing through death toward life.

The antithesis is provided by that self-love which makes of existence a living death. Trying at all costs to save itself, this self gives priority to the self inherited from the past; it claims rights over reality because of that past. It protects itself by violent repulsion of every threat to its own security or hopes. It dreams of making each future better than each past—for itself. Self-love follows an unambiguous single movement, presumably toward life, actually toward death. It could never write as Paul does: 'dying . . . behold we live'; unconsciously it pens the parody: 'living . . . behold we die'.

That this love-motivated death has temporal connotations is clear from another passage:

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> From now on, let those who have wives
> live as though they had none,
> And those who mourn
> as though they were not mourning,
> And those who rejoice
> as though they were not rejoicing,
> And those who buy
> as though they had no goods,
> And those who deal with the world
> as though they had no dealings with it.
> For the form of this world is passing away.
> (1 Cor. 7.29-31)

How may we interpret these temporal connotations? We may assume that the form of this world did not pass away while the form of Paul's prognosis did pass away. This is almost inevitable if we adopt the 'one-way street' outlook, in which the only pertinence of eschatology lies in its notion of the terminus toward which this one-way street runs. In this case we must explain Paul's hope as an imaginary point on an invisible line projected from his past into his immediate future. Subsequently we have discovered that the street did not end, but turned into a quite unexpected direction. Paul's prediction thus being punctured, we must adopt new guesses in the dark.

It is possible, however, to conceive of existence as including not only man's movement forward but also God's movement manward. It may be that the best characterisation of this world is that its form does pass away. Time may be needed to measure the movement of the coming age, the Creator's coming toward us with forgiveness, grace, promise, and life. If this orientation be adopted, then Paul's injunctions may emerge not out of premature utopian excitements but out of a fully mature understanding of how the new creation causes old motives to atrophy and new motives to dominate. Paul's attitudes in the above passage may stem not from schizophrenic distaste for the world or from the compensations of a soured idealist; they may be prudent maxims intrinsic to the dying life to which Christians are predestined. Like other folk they marry and rear families, they have their spate of pleasant and painful experiences, they engage in business and finance. What distinguishes them is the fact that they are wiser than to gauge the future in terms of family, social or financial fortunes. Their hopes are no longer the dupes of the law of sin and death, the illusions spawned by a dying order. They judge every temporal alignment of conditions in the light of a known future: the transiency of the world and the coming of God's Realm. The world that passes away contains much more than a period of past history, to be checked off on the calendar; it contains everything that is ruled by the law of sin and death, the whole sequential complex in which present is determined by the past. Conversely, the new age is more than a new epoch that soon recedes into the past. It embraces everything that is ruled by the new sovereignty, the life that is grounded in and nurtured by the promise. God's love moves toward men out of His eternal kingdom; in men it moves toward identification with the sin of the world, i.e. toward the Cross; in those who die with Christ it moves toward an abiding heritage of glory. From man's angle, each step in this movement is accompanied by greater freedom, greater suffering, greater joy, and a more certain hope (Rom. 5.1-5; Jas. 1.2-4). No suffering produced by this movement can be so severe as to separate men from the promise, because the promise *is* identical with this total movement from inception to completion. To be 'killed all the day long . . . for thy sake' is to make the present the scene of the new creation, where the world does pass away (Rom. 8.18-25, 31-39). At this point one deals with the world as one whose dealings all are actually 'with the new creation', because what is done in the world is nothing less than the deed of a new man.

It may seem to the reader that we have dallied too long with the temporal co-efficients of life *in* Christ. Perhaps we have. We have done so in part in order to emphasise those Christological convictions that are implicit in faith. This may redress a situation that has long been out of balance. Many Christians assume that Christology consists primarily of an effort to define the relation of the second member of the Trinity to the other members. This denies Jesus' acceptance of His followers as His brothers. It obscures the New Testament accent upon the meeting of *two human natures* in Jesus, and its accent upon the way in which the new Man includes the whole of the new age. As we call attention to several neglected aspects of Christology, the relevance of the preceding discussion will be apparent.

Temporal Components of the Life of Christ

1. *The Direction of the Messiah's Movement*

At the outset we must note a typical designation of the Messiah as 'The Coming One'. This title associates the Messiah with the coming of God and the coming of the Spirit, with the coming Kingdom and the coming Day. In all these cases there is danger of unconscious modernisation. It is easy for us to speak of the Coming Day as a day toward which we are moving, rather than a day that moves toward us, easy for us to assign it a place on our calendar rather than to look at our calendar from its vantage point. In the New Testament when *erchomai* is used, it is the subject who moves. Customarily the subject is a person, but even where this is not true the movement is personal. The coming of the Kingdom is identical with the coming of the Son of Man (Mark 11.9, 10). The harvest comes, the offence, tribulation, destruction, the night, the hour—all these are spoken of as coming. It would be easy to assume that in such cases men are visualised as moving forward toward the 'coming' object; but the New Testament contexts indicate that in all these cases God is moving toward men. Each such movement is 'with power'; this particular future is alive, active, aggressive. The Messiah represents such a coming. (Cf. Mark 1.38, 2.17, 10.45; Matt. 5.17; Luke 7.33, 34, 19.10, 12.51-3.)

A cognate way of expressing this directional aspect is the frequent mention of the Messiah as *one who is sent*. 'Not to the righteous but to sinners was I sent' is a recurrent note in the Gospels (Mark 9.37; Matt. 15.24; Luke 10.16; cf. Albertz, *Botschaft*, pp. 102-7). We are reminded of the parables of invitation, of rent-collection, of judgment. 'God sent His Son' is a recurrent note in the Epistles. Before Him forerunners come, the prophets and John; then He Himself is sent to warn men of the coming Kingdom and to prepare them for inheriting it. Sent from God, He has authoritative knowledge concerning the approaching judgment and resurrection. His announcement of the coming hour brings that hour into the present moment (John 5.26). He alone sees what the Father is doing; He therefore does likewise. 'As the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whom he will. . . . He who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life' (John 5.17-24). It is of course possible to interpret the source of this movement as heaven, as God's eternal realm, but even in John there remains the eschatological note: Jesus is sent on ahead, from the coming time of resurrection. It is high time that we stop thinking of Jesus (and the prophets) as a wistful dreamer, peering into the murky future with dread and hope, conjuring up images to support His message. Either we must speak of Him as sent to herald the dawning era, as an advance messenger to announce His Father's intended visit, or we should candidly dispense with the entire New Testament.

There is a third category which illustrates this directional aspect: promise. There are several ways for describing Jesus' relation to God's promise. In the first place Jesus Himself illustrates how a man should run the race for the joy that is set before Him. He lived by the promise and he inherited it, the crown of life when faith is purified and love is perfected in trials (Heb. 12.1-11; Jas. 1.12, 2.5). Second, the sending of Jesus is a fulfilment of the promises that God had given to David (Acts 13.23), to all the prophets (1 Peter 1.10-12), and to all pilgrims of faith (Heb. 11). In the resurrection God carried out the pledge made 'to our twelve tribes' (Acts 26.6). This pledge included the assurance of life, the forgiveness of sins, triumph over corruption and full freedom as sons (Acts 13.32 f). A parallel way of saying the same thing: When Jesus received the promise of the Holy Spirit, He was given the power to pour it out on all whom God called to Him (Acts 2.33).

In the third place, this baptism with the Spirit means that Jesus Himself becomes the promise on the basis of which the elect now live. Faith, as we have seen, is the response to this very promise. The new birth is a sign of its power to produce sons. Baptism with the Spirit is a recurrent baptism into Jesus' death. All the gifts of the Spirit are gifts of the promise; every act of the apostle, in fact, is based on the promise of life in Christ (2 Tim. 1.1). Jesus is the Lord 'through whom are all things and through whom we exist' (1 Cor. 8.6). These considerations are summed up in one of the most profound, if seldom noted, Christological confessions:

> In Him it is always Yes. For all the promises of God find their yes in Him. That is why we utter the Amen through Him to the glory of God,

But it is God who establishes us with you in Christ, and has commissioned us; He has put His seal upon us and given us His Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee. (2 Cor. 1.19-22)

2. *The Momentum of Time's Movement in Christ*

We have noted that there is a law 'of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus' and that this law provides both structure and momentum to existence. This momentum begins with one's baptism in the Spirit. Let us notice how this was true for Jesus Himself.

Like every other elect person, Jesus lived under the immediate government of the Spirit of God. Everywhere in the NT this Spirit is viewed as the creative power of the age to come. The life that He communicates is the life of the resurrection. It is significant, then, that the conception and birth of Jesus are assigned to the activity of the Spirit. This means that 'the entrance of Jesus into the world was the inauguration of God's new creation', 'the fulfilment of his promised redemption'. The only true analogy to this act of creation is provided by Gen. 1 (cf. Barrett, *Holy Spirit in Gospel Tradition*, Ch. 2). Paul finds in Jesus a descent from David according to the flesh and a sonship to God according to the Spirit (Rom. 1.3). Luke finds in Him a descent from Joseph and Mary and simultaneously a descent from the Spirit.

The baptism of Jesus held a similar eschatological significance. Here the Spirit begins to call into being the Messianic days, the community of the new covenant, by inaugurating the ministry of the Messiah. God is calling into being the conditions of the age of redemption (cf. Barrett, op. cit., Ch. 3). As part of the baptism, the Spirit *drives* Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted. Subsequent events are under the control and guidance of the Spirit, since Jesus by reliance on the Spirit, discerned Satan's deceptions and denied his authority. The whole Galilean ministry is accomplished 'in the power of the Spirit' (Luke 4.14). Immediately the demons realise that Jesus has come with authority from the future kingdom 'before the time'. In spite of their protests and subterfuges, Jesus drives them out 'by the Spirit of God' (Matt. 12.28).

What is the nature of the 'momentum' that the Spirit imparts to Jesus' ministry? There are various ways of answering. In the first place, we recall that baptism is not something that is over when it is done; it remains a present and a future constraint. 'I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I constrained until it is accomplished' (Luke 12.50). The baptism furnishes a constant subjective pressure. It also contributes a ministry of 'casting fire on the earth', of producing division and conflict. A second way of suggesting the subjective constraint is to observe the various contexts in which Jesus says 'The Son of Man must . . . '. He is under orders, under constant compulsion, under commission to accomplish certain objectives. A third element in the pressure is indicated in the reference to the accumulating conflict with the 'rulers of the world'. The *now* which is produced by the Spirit's invasion of the old age is a now that is explosive. The hour is now. Compressed into present decision are both divine redemptive power and the cumulative hostility to God. 'The Son of Man must suffer'—that is the sign of the opposing momenta. The Gospels are written out of the conviction that the increasing intensity of this *now* is much more important than the exact linear sequence of calendar days. This is true because Jesus' *hour* did not depend on His own planning or on that of His enemies, but solely on the Father's good pleasure. The movement toward death followed a pattern that was never beyond the control of the Holy Spirit. Unlimited power was conveyed in that movement, but it remained subjected to the creative power of God.

3. *The Motivation of the Messiah's Movement*

It is quite unnecessary to specify the various motives that impelled Jesus to carry out His appointed task. One can include them all under the *obedience* which 'He carried so far'. Scarcely a single New Testament writing omits reference to this obedience, the perfect obedience of the Servant-Son. Certainly no Christological confession can ignore this motive. One might, on the other hand, include all intentions under the heading *love*, a love that was wholly turned away from self toward Father and neighbour, a love whose perfect expression was found in the final forgiveness of enemies. One could select the term *humility*, the self-humbling that characterised the Messiah, from His baptism in water to the completion of that baptism in death. This might give clearer voice to His identification with sinners and outcasts, to His desire to become last of all and slave of all. It might also express the stance of the runner, his back to the past (in total repentance) and his face towards the goal (in total trust and confidence). In the Gospels, the integrity and power of the motive (whatever word one may use) is set forth most dramatically in the total story of the ministry *en route* to the Cross, and most economically in the account of several decisive incidents, such as the baptism, temptation, transfiguration, and struggle in Gethsemane.

It is obvious that this matter of motive is intrinsic to the problem of Christology; but what, may we ask, does it have to do with the problem of time? Oscar Cullmann, I think, would say that it is directly related to the *meaning* of history, but that it has nothing to do with the time-line itself. Rudolph Bultmann, on the other hand, would probably maintain that these motives mark one's freedom *from* time, as signs of the Kingdom's transcendence over time. Either of these conclusions is sensible, perhaps too sensible. If our primary perception of time centres in the endless sequence of solar revolutions, then Cullmann is right; if our primary perception of time centres in that law of irreversible succession in which decision loses its finality and the self loses its freedom, then Bultmann is equally right. But in the Bible the times seem to be more closely contingent upon God's purposes and man's responses. Motives, accordingly, have a more immediate and intrinsic connexion with the times. Obedience-sin marks the boundary between two worlds, two ages. Each of the motives we have mentioned—obedience, love, humility—has its temporal co-efficients. Each marks a person's (and a community's) freedom from descent-according-to-the-flesh (the whole past-present continuum); and the persons' induction into a descent-according-to-the-Spirit (the whole future-present continuum). In Jesus' case this disjunction became clear and complete. Yet the disjunction could be complete only on the part of one whose perfect obedience coincided perfectly with his identification with his brothers in their descent according to the flesh.

This is why the Messiah's motives have their temporal ramifications. His motive (losing His life for the Gospel's sake) gave to His ministry its momentum. It provided the structure of obligations under which He lived. This momentum provoked its intense antithesis from the side of the Rebellion, hence, the conflict between God and Satan in the New Testament. This momentous motivation produced the direction of time by which Jesus gauged reality, and inevitably revealed the opposite direction of time in the Rebellion. Whatever this motive, this momentum, this direction became operative in human affairs, there the temporal reverberations became manifest to faith. If our concept of time is sufficiently broad, imaginative and adequate, it will include not only the elements of bare succession, bare duration, bare measurability, but also the elements of direction, momentum, and motivation. When these elements are included in time (and when they are excluded time loses all human significance), then time becomes a decisive element in Christology. Then, too, one understands why he is unable to understand the content of time apart from hope in Christ.

Should one wish to explore further the mutual affiliations of messianic motivation and time, there are at least three avenues open to him. He may analyse carefully the temporal implications of a particular motive, such as the Messiah's love (cf. Ch. 13 of my book, *The Kingdom and the Power*). He may analyse the temporal implications of a particular episode in the Gospels, such as the baptism, the transfiguration or the crucifixion. A very fruitful example would be provided by the Lucan story of the Last Supper (22.1-38). He may examine again the central Christological confessions and pay close attention to their temporal implications. For example, let us cite three key testimonies of Paul:

> God has done what the Law, weakened by the flesh, could not do. Sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, He condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit. (Rom. 8.3, 4)

Note the prominence of motive. More prominent is the sense of momentum and its ensuing conflict. And what is the result? The condemnation and dethronement of sin. The transformation of the flesh. The fulfilment and replacement of the Law. Each of these is a *temporal* phenomenon. Without a change in them there can be no significant change in the temporal aspect of existence. With every genuine change there appears a genuine change in the times, appropriately expressed in terms of two ages, two covenants, two worlds, two humanities.

> One has died for all; therefore all have died. And He died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for Him who for their sakes died and was raised. (2 Cor. 5.15)

Here again we see clearly expressed the bearing of motive upon the momentum of existence, and we see the opposing directions which opposing motives produce. These two processes meet in death. To lose one's life for all is to turn death into the beginning of a new life; the life of the resurrection gains control over the present, so that the present seeks the future and is included within it. To seek to gain one's life for one's own sake is to make death the inevitable and final terminus of the continuum within which one is confined. Surely death is a category that has temporal constituents. In death time becomes most meaningful—and least. The death of death is at once a temporal and a Christological event.

> If, because of one man's trespass, death reigned through that one man, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ. (Rom. 6.17)

Both death and the death of death have their ramifications in time; so, too, do life and the creation of life in the one man. Such a quotation may not give us an answer to all eschatological questions, but it may indicate items that belong in that answer. It must contain an explication of the new creation, a creation that is free from the tyranny of death. It must make clear how this new creation is potentiated by an abounding grace that will not be denied access to any cranny of temporal existence. It must include some treatment of the unification of all hope in 'the one man'. It must express how the freedom and the righteousness of this new creation yield an open future, a future that is bounded only by the coming of Christ in glory with those who are His.

How, then, shall we conceive of the present activity of Christ? As the simultaneous end of an old aeon and the beginning of a new? As the introduction of a Spirit of power that flows from the time of consummation? As the sharing with men of an inheritance that has been laid up in heaven for them from the foundation of the world? It is the coming Christ who is now extending His work of redeeming life from destruction. There can be no conflict between His present and His future activity because faith recognises the present as the point of entrance of the coming Kingdom, where through Christ men gain access to the realm within the veil. The conflict becomes acute to the extent that 'Christ in you the hope of glory' challenges the hopes of an age that is passing away. Faith recognises the operation everywhere of a double truth: The creation has been subjected to futility. It has been thus subjected by the God of hope, who has subjected it in hope. The object of both subjection and hope is the adoption of sons, that will be complete only when our body is redeemed. It is this hope that is the assurance of progress, the progress of the Kingdom toward us, the extension of God's sovereignty among us. It is in this hope that we are saved, for this hope is at every point co-extensive with Christ's royal ministry.

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THE TASK OF APOLOGETICS IN THE FUTURE

Karl Heim's Theology after Fifty Years

by The Rev. Professor CARL MICHALSON

Karl Heim has just completed two epochs in his theological biography. The first is a twenty-one year project entitled *Der evangelische Glaube und das Denken der Gegenwart*, a series of six volumes in which an impressive span of contemporary problems has been probed and illuminated by the Christian faith. The second is the golden anniversary of the literary effort which he initiated in 1902 with a volume entitled *Psychologismus oder Anti-Psychologismus* and which he has now rounded out with his *Weltschöpfung und Weltende.*

For fifty years Professor Heim's work has revealed an astonishing versatility. He has written with vigour and skill as well in the area of the history of religions, philosophy, and natural science as in theology and ethics. He has produced Biblical expositions and historical studies, which include a treatment of Alexander of Hales and another of the problem of certainty in Christian doctrine up to the time of Schleiermacher. He has published scores of sermons which reveal a combination of tender piety and acute penetration into personal and cultural needs. For every crisis in the life of the German people there is an essay with a theological perspective. Probably best known to the English speaking world is his Protestant manifesto, *Spirit and Truth.* The care of the soul which he saw portrayed in the ministry of Jesus has been central in his own discipleship. Ecumenical concerns developed in his youth as secretary of the German Student Movement have persisted in his most mature work. And through it all he has resisted the theologian's ambition: he has written no *Dogmatik*, except for a guide-book to his theological lectures which he simply entitled an 'outline'. He has, however, written a 'thesaurus'—as someone has described his *Glauben und Leben*, a fat volume combining essays from a period of a quarter of a century in which the Christian faith is brought in touch with what appears to be every relevant problem of those times.

Through all these efforts a continuous theme is detected. Karl Heim has communicated the meaning of the Christian faith to levels of the human spirit which have been left untouched by theological traditions stemming either from seventeenth century Protestant orthodoxy or from nineteenth century liberalism. It is no mystery, therefore, that a majority of the pastors in Germany today regard him as their teacher. But here the mystery begins. The continental theologians have already begun to append him to their courses in the history of doctrine. His phenomenal life-span has made this a possibility. But what of the contemporary pertinence of his work?

The basis for the relative neglect of Heim's thought among his colleagues today may be twofold. The more immediate seems to be that the Barth and Bultmann circles have almost completely absorbed the current theological interest. The other may very well be that the theologians have been so disconcerted by the methodology underlying Heim's thought that they have not been willing to sustain their attention up to the present. The key to both circumstances, I believe, is to be found in what Heim conceives to be the responsibility of Christian apologetics. His method is too important for one to permit it to be by-passed.

I

There appears to have been a fatiguing complexity in Heim's thought. The theologians have exhausted themselves in the effort to locate his position in the frame of some previously fabricated tradition. One group has labelled him 'a rationalist'. Has he not developed a philosophical basis for the Christian view of life? Is he not concerned with the intellectual possibility of the certainty of faith? Does he not restlessly seek for 'a category' by which to express the Christian faith in terms comprehensible to contemporary culture? Is not this sort of device reminiscent of the Schleiermacher-Troeltsch-Otto succession?

'Anyone who accepts Heim's world view is not yet a religious man', says one interpreter. 'Heim's whole effort is a blunder which can be traced to his preoccupation with artful abstraction', says another. 'Insoluble logic is more important to him than personal relations. His God is an "it" and not a "Thou".' 'He employs the experience of despair as a device for securing the certainty of faith.' 'In his desire for a science of the ultimate he wishes to stand where only God can stand.' 'He does not speak from a place within the Church.' He 'fails to follow the proper task of theology, reflection on the testimony and message of the Bible.'[1]

So runs one kind of objection to Heim over a period of fifty years. The charge would be serious were it not for the fact that another block of interpreters arrives at a completely opposite conclusion about him. His tendencies, they say, are those of 'an irrationalist'. Does he not elevate God beyond the reach of the human reason? Does he not exemplify a simple trust in the Biblical revelation with its miracles and unique revelation? One says, 'He imports a *deus ex machina* into a sceptical philosophy'. Another says, 'He is a reactionary irrationalist'. Another, 'He neglects the rational in order to found religion on an irrational source.'[2]

By these contradictory testimonies the critics fall against each other. The more patient and discerning critics, however, find that the contradictions are resident not so much in the evaluation of Heim as in Heim himself. He presents the puzzling appearance of one who attempts to be at one and the same time a rationalist and an irrationalist. 'How can one combine in a single viewpoint an emphasis both on what is beyond the reason and what is a necessity within the reason?' 'How can an intellectual impossibility become the basis for the intellectual possibility of Christianity?' 'How can one express Tertullian's fideism in the patterns of pure mathematics?'[3]

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[1] Paul Kalweit, *Die Christliche Welt*, J. 21, p. 562; Th. Steinmann, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, n.f., XIII, p. 49; W. Thimme, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, J. 105, pp. 25, 35-6; Karl Barth, *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II, I, p. 225; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Christentum und Wissenschaft*, H. 12, p. 435; Hermann Diem, *Die Christliche Welt*, J. 46, p. 546; H. Obendiek, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 259.

[2] Friedrich Traub, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, n.j., 1917, p. 191; D. C. Macintosh, *The Problem of Religious Knowledge*, p. 350; Rudolf Paulus, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, n.f., 1922, p. 201.

[3] Karl Beth, *Theologische Rundschau*, V. 20, p. 94; Otto Hoffmann, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1922, p. 267; Julius Kaftan, *Studien zur systematische Theologie T. von Haering*, pp. 37, 39.

It is difficult, of course, to say precisely what is Heim's method. As I have noted, he has written no dogmatics. He has written no introductory chapter by which to make it clear to all just what he has intended to do. He is not primarily a rearguard strategist. He has not read Paul, Luther, and Kierkegaard without effect. He writes not for the theologian but for the man, be he inside or outside the Church.

The truth about his method, I would venture to say, rests with none of the evaluations cited. Heim's method is instructed by a sensitivity to the polarity, the tension in human existence which is ineradicable from within existence. How does he know about this tension? In two ways. He lives as a man, and he is the beneficiary of the revelation which has named the truth 'Jesus Christ'. These two standpoints are inseparable, logically and chronologically. The human situation is riddled with the agonies one associates with doubt, social aggressiveness, suffering, guilt, and death. The agonies are the more acute for the fact that there is no relief from them within the human situation. How does Heim know this? Has he personally played all the registers of life? No; rather he has heard—from within his life as a man—the message of justification by faith alone.

As a consequence, Heim can write as a *phenomenologist*. He has the confidence that if one honestly pursues the problem of life *as it appears*, he will proceed through a process of fundamental questioning culminating in the thirst for a meaning which does not appear. He can write as an *existentialist*, for he has the confidence that the pursuit for meaning involves *all* one's faculties and commits one to decisive action upon the results of his search. He can write as an *ontologist*. That is, he is not simply a metaphysician seeking for the origin or causes of things, for first principles. He is an ontologist, examining and illuminating the fundamental structure of being in such a way as to relate the whole of one's life to the ultimate meaning in the whole of life. He can write as a *personalist*. The ultimately authentic meaning is not to be found in intellectual propositions such that one may say, 'Life means this or that'. The meaning which will resolve the manifest and hidden agonies of life will be breathed with intimacy through such confessional terms as, 'You mean everything to me!'

II

Twentieth century theologians will probably one day be referred to as 'the post-*Nein* fathers'. Living as they do in the aftermath of the Barth-Brunner controversy, they find such tactics as Heim's somewhat hazardous. His methods are suggestive of the *Anknüpfungspunkt* mentality which skirts so dangerously close to the natural theology of scholasticism. Man's intellectual works seem imputed unto him for righteousness. At first glance, Heim appears deaf to the Barthian-inspired Barmen warning which was designed to check any future identification of political or any other human aspirations with religious revelation.

The following random citations from Heim's fifty years of writing are impressive evidence of his methodological flirtation:

> 'All reality speaks a common language.' 'Morality and religion are one and the same movement of life under two different viewpoints.' 'Every fleeting wish is indeed already a religion in miniature.' 'The demand of human relations is for another who himself needs no other.' 'There are only two possible reactions for the man in battle—stupefaction or prayer.' 'There is no experience of despair that does not give light to the horizon.' 'The despair which the conscience experiences is the foothold in the visible for the leap into the indivisible.' 'Every forcible suppression of doubt is a direct blow at conscience. It destroys our reverence for truth, the highest faculty within us, which must be kept alive if we wish to know God.' 'An atheistic ontology is only possible on the grounds of an abstraction which neglects the why and wherefore of the existence of the real man.' 'We must find an answer to the question about how we may find a way from creation to the creator.' 'The leading of God can come to one in an entirely reasonable and commonplace form in which, after a laborious rational process through which I examine a given situation according to my best knowledge and conscience and enumerate all the reasons *pro* and *con*, I become stamped with the seal of certainty: "this way must in the name of God be taken".'[1]

It is this type of expression which Karl Barth has charged with 'psychologism', the same kind of anthropological exaggeration that was present in nineteenth century liberalism and pietism.[2] Yet Heim's very first book was directed against psychologism. The starting point for Heim's theology has never been anthropological. It is as Christological as Martin Luther's. But that is not to say there is no theological importance to taking one's humanity seriously. Since the Enlightenment and philosophy's declaration of independence from theology, any alliance between the revelation and human discernment has been looked upon with suspicion by both theologians and philosophers. There are two important exceptions to this. One is the tradition of scholasticism and Roman Catholic theology, a tradition unbroken by either the Reformation or the Enlightenment. The difficulty with the Roman Catholic alliance between theology and philosophy or between natural wisdom and divine revelation is the way in which theology is given hierarchical superiority over philosophy. The end result is that philosophy can say nothing but what theology is willing to certify.

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[1] *Das Weltbild der Zukunft*, p. iv; *Leitfaden der Dogmatik*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, p. 64; *Das Weltbild*, p. 193; *Glaube und Leben*, pp. 518-19; ibid., p. 623; *Glaubensgewissheit*, 1st ed., p. 39; *Glaube und Leben*, p. 650; *Spirit and Truth*, p. 113; *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, n.f., Vol. 11, p. 330; *Die Wandlung im naturwissenschaftlichen Weltbild*, p. 18; *Glaube und Denken*, 2nd ed., pp. 335-6.

[2] *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, p. 21.

The other exception to the curtaining off of the human and the divine antedates scholasticism. It is exemplified in the philosophical theology of Augustine. Karl Heim can only be understood and appreciated in this setting. For that reason, judgments aimed at him from within the philosophy-blind post-enlightenment theology are apt to miss the mark. Either theology is a sphere separate from all others, or it has all reality as its sphere of discourse. If the former be the case, theology is insulated against the judgments of the other spheres. At the same time, however, the judgment of theology against all other spheres is blocked by its own defences. If the latter be the case, the autonomy of theology is threatened, being subject to the judgment of all other spheres. At the same time, the methodological lines for judging all others are kept intact.

It were better to find a new name for what theologians used to do than to allow the theological task to be pinched by restrictions forced upon it by either secular or sacred sciences. Heim believes this so firmly, he has entertained the possibility of a completely different title for what he conceives to be a proper theological task, namely, the 'Science of the Ultimate'. There is but one question in which a 'science of the ultimate' is interested: 'What are the ultimate presuppositions which support our life and how is the certainty of this foundation established?'[1] Heim cannot believe that there is a distinction between theological responsibility and the sort of search for a basis in life which goes on outside theology, such as in the novel and the drama, or even in the newspapers and in politics. All are concerned with the ultimate in existence, be they inside or outside the Church.[1]

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[1] *Glaube und Denken*, 2nd ed., p. 22.

As a result of this method Heim believes he has been able to achieve at least the outlines of a Christian ontology. One must admit that there is a convincing overlap between the human situation as seen by the serious man and the divine revelation as known within the Christian Church. The effect of the method and its results, one would expect, would be the breaking down of the wall, if not the constructing of a bridge, between the Church and the world, between theology and philosophy, between the faith and culture. It is important to note that Heim builds no bridge 'between God and man'. That task is out of the theologian's hands.

The two major data of Heim's ontology are the thoroughgoing relativism of human existence and the dimensional transcendence of God. The data are complementary. If there is a God of the sort confessed by the Hebrew-Christian faith, then man has a permanent basis for his life. The basis, however, is not in his life but in God. Therefore one can press man relentlessly with the question of ultimate meaning, knowing from the beginning that one's life is relatively meaningless until it is related to God. 'A man must have something permanent', Heim believes.[2] Human experience needs it, not because it feels the need, but because the need is revealed to be inherent in the very structure of life.

By relativism Heim means to say that within existence, as man is able to know it by himself, there is no absolute point of reference. The ontology of this assertion is constructed out of a view of time. Man is completely embedded in time, or better, time is completely embedded in man. The very structure of existence is time, and, like time, existence is running out. There is no security for existence within existence. Man's life is a constant trek across a never-ending water-shed. Behind him is the irrevocable and certain past, powerless to help him in the present. Ahead of him is the uncertain future. Man has no final knowledge about it, yet he must act decisively towards it.

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[1] *Die Wandlung*, p. 13.

[2] *Leben aus dem Glauben*, pp. 3, 4.

In the nature of time, with its irreversible propulsion, suspension of decision is itself the decision to let time decide. The tragedy of man is either to accept something in time as if it were final or to fail to despair of the evanescence of temporal existence. Either state is a condition of 'radical Godlessness', the loss of an archimedean point for the orientation of one's existence.

The human reason functions within this time reference. It leads man restlessly from island to island but finds no continent on which to build securely. Within the ever-receding infinity called existence, the reason comes upon no fact which can no longer be staggered by the question, 'Why?' But the conscientious reason, the moral reason, the reason which is concerned with the total destiny of the person on behalf of whom it functions, is not content with this situation and tantalises itself in an endless and exhausting search for a clue to transcendence over the situation. Life under these conditions can only result in either the crushing spiritual poverty one has learned to call despair, or a leap into some sort of saving faith. It would be a requirement of a redemptive faith, moreover, that it transcend the limitations of the time-form from which it professes to bring deliverance.

The Christian doctrine of the transcendent God both explains the time-form and brings deliverance from it. Where there is only one God, all else is related to Him, all else is relative. Where there is only one Absolute, all else presupposes this Absolute. The very effort to know the Absolute depends upon the prior existence of the Absolute. Is God so transcendent, then, that He is out of touch with human experience? On the contrary. God is transcendent because He is so near, not because He is so remote. He sustains man's whole life, and one cannot see the place on which one stands. Is man therefore destined to live in ignorance of the one reality the knowledge of which can bring peace to his life? The experience of thoroughgoing relativism is the presupposition for the raising of the question about the ultimate, but the question waits upon the answer which only the ultimate can give, and give in its own way. The Christ-revelation is taken to be the answer of God to the problem of man, an answer which arises not out of the relative situation but enters into the situation from beyond it.

But Heim makes claims for the rational certainty of the

Christian faith. The language is possibly from another day. The meaning, however, does not hinge upon the language. Heim is of the conviction that it is rational to affirm what is needed to make experience possible. The Christian revelation, then, notwithstanding man's inability to come upon it by himself, is a 'rational event', as Barth once called it.[1] Not the revelation but the need of the revelation is given in human experience. Barth simply complains that one cannot end with faith-certainty unless one has begun with it.[2] But this is exactly what Heim has done. His theology begins from within the human situation, with the Christ, the ultimate revealed.

The general lines of this ontology have been present in Heim's theology from his earliest work. Pertinent elements in the new physics and biology, from existential philosophy, and from the political fortunes of the world have been blended with Luther's doctrine of justification by faith. The result has been no flatulent philosophy waiting for some doctoral candidate to place it in the history of thought. It has been a spur at the flank of continental life for fifty years.

III

As if to keep his forces mobile, Heim has shifted his key concept in each succeeding decade. Or, to change the figure, he has felt it important to rig up a readily traversible gangway on this ontological bridge between the Christian message and the world. It must be remembered that the bridge and therefore the gangway connects the Church and the world, not God and man. To use an Augustinian figure, the bridge is significantly traversable when illuminated, and one who believes in the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit knows that this is a *lumen aeternae* for the coming of which one can only wait. This does not, according to Heim, obviate the importance of the gangway.

In *Psychologismus oder Antipsychologismus* (1902) Heim set forth an epistemological point of view which allowed that at the base of thought processes there are presuppositions which are themselves unknowable. This pattern underwrites the entire literature of his theology.

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[1] *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, pp. 152-3.

[2] *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*, 1, 2, pp. 225-6.

In *Das Weltbild der Zukunft* (1904), a study of reality documented from the modern sciences and philosophy, he concludes that in reality as it appears one has to do only with relationships, never with ultimate data. The very relativity of all phenomena requires decisions, the secure basis for which is not given in the phenomena. It is therefore not unreasonable that there would appear to man what man himself needs but cannot conjure up voluntarily—the revelation of the absolute basis in God's decision, or God's will.

In the second edition of *Glaubensgewissheit* (1920), Heim sharpened his meaning by replacing the 'decision' category by a 'destiny' category. Man's windowless decisions do not simply presuppose some transcendent light. They suffer a light that is burning in upon them. This category, suggested by Spengler, offered Heim the occasion to introduce into his method the more aggressive connotations of the revelation, theologically conserved in doctrines of predestination, grace, and the witness of the Spirit.

In the third edition of *Glaubensgewissheit* (1923), Heim added another element which clarified the structure in the relation which God's destinating decision sustains to man's relative decisions. God is 'the non-objective perspective', drawing all visible experience up into the unity of His being, but Himself remaining invisible. This perspective unity is at the ground of all experience as the very possibility of experience. One cannot know the non-objective perspective point of all objective perspectives, but one cannot know without it. The dependence here upon motifs from Kant is avowed.

This category prepared the way for the discovery of the category on the basis of which Heim initiated his *opus magnum*, *Der evangelische Glaube und das Denken der Gegenwart*, the category of 'the dimension'. One who understands the meaning of the 'dimensions', Heim believes, has come upon the primary and most important basis for understanding the mystery of existence. The illustrations are patent. The two-dimensionally minded primitive man was unable to make sense of his universe until someone interpreted to him the existence of the third dimension. The third dimension was nothing he could see, for one's perception presupposes it. Width and height stretch themselves out before us, but depth is a straight line. If we observe it, we see only the end of it, a pin-point on the two-dimensional width-height surface. If we observe on the basis of it, the surface becomes deep with perspective. To say it more technically, on the basis of two-dimensional experience, it is contradictory to assume that three straight lines may meet at right angles. Analogically, the God-relation is the depth dimension which, when one hears of it, comprehends all other dimensions and clarifies existence.

The God-dimension, however hidden as the presupposition of a meaningful existence, nonetheless is not a silent relation. It is characterised by 'the word', an encounter similar to the relation between persons. Hence the analogy from dimensions serves an additional function which Heim has expressed in logic from the context of Martin Buber's poetical *I and Thou.* There are two kinds of spaces: I-spaces and it-spaces. It-spaces are filled with contents which are exclusive of all other spaces, like the spaces on a draughtboard. The conflict in personal relations is a result of attempting to make it-spaces out of I-spaces. Either we draw circles around ourselves in such a way as to exclude others, or we introject the others into the circle of our own existence in such a way as to rob others of their independence. I-spaces are not content-spaces, however. They are dimensional-spaces. There may be an infinite number of these without their excluding one another. (An infinite number of lines may converge perpendicularly at the same point.) At the same time, these dimensional spaces can meet without losing their distinctive identity. (Two infinite planes may intersect without jeopardising either their infinity or their distinctness.) It-spaces meet by contact. I-spaces meet by encounter. The God-relation is of the nature of encounter.

The analogy from spaces has not abandoned the time analogy in which Heim's ontological structure is conceived. It-spaces are past time and I-spaces are present time. God Himself is an I-space with the unique character of eternal presentness. God is the 'dimension of dimensions' which comprehends all other dimensions and His word, the point at which the world of experience is related to Him, is present.

Heim's series of pontifical categories bridging the gap between faith and culture experienced a moment of uncertainty with the rise of National Socialism. Since 1902 his method had been built on the ontological impossibility of relativising the absolute, and absolutising the relative. Obviously it was always considered *morally* possible to invert the structure of life, to exchange the truth about God for a lie and worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator. National Socialism, however, seemed to illustrate the possibility of embracing relativities as absolute without undergoing existential despair. Hence, in the third edition of *Glaube und Denken*, translated into English as *God Transcendent*, Heim stressed what had nonetheless always been implicit. Analogies from the world lack the force to turn man from preoccupation with the world to faith in God. It is impossible for man by any observation of his own to attain to the Christian knowledge of God. 'We are thrown back on God's own revelation.'[1] The category of dimension, as the other categories were intended to be, is simply an intellectual ground for the possibility of the revelation. As Heim had said in his *Glaubensgewissheit*, 'The hammer with which the smith strikes the anvil cannot forge itself. . . . Nor can thought itself prove its own presuppositions.'[2]

IV

The best clue to the understanding of Heim's complex method rests on what he believes to be the responsibility of a Christian apologetic. It is at this point, likewise, that Heim is most clearly to be differentiated from both of the dominating figures in continental theology, Barth and Bultmann. The questions that emerge from a comparison of the methods of these three theologians are becoming a mandate for the theology of the future.

An apologetic has two obligations in Heim's method. The first is to unmask the idols which the world destructively reveres. This is its offensive phase and as such is simply a propaedeutic to Christian preaching. The second obligation is to provide a Christian view of life, a Christian ontology that would relate the Christianised world meaningfully to its total environment. This is the phase of consolidation, organic to the task of apologetics.

The old variety of defensive apologetic in which the theologian felt called upon to justify the Christian message before

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[1] *God Transcendent*, pp. 230-1. [2] *Glaubensgewissheit*, 2nd ed., pp. 129-30.

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the so-called 'bar of reason' is utterly foreign to Heim's method. As he says, 'We need an attitude which we do not need to defend . . . indeed, which can change the strategy from defence to attack.'[1] Equally foreign is the still older method of rational attack upon non-Christian systems which Franz Overbeck has characterised as the intellectual equivalent of the medieval crusades. Heim is rather in the tradition of Pascal and Kierkegaard, applying a relentless critique to the roots of man's existence, and always upon the presupposition that the God revealed in Christ can alone re-establish the uprooted man on the soil of His truth. Apologetic attack is analogous to the way a physician attacks an illness. He is not so intent on defending his reputation as a physician as he is in effecting a cure.

Apologetic can do no more than lead to the threshold of a Christian solution, but the threshold is no closer to heaven than to hell. The method is informed by Socratic midwifery, the maieutic method which Kierkegaard has introduced into theology through his concept of irony. But where Socrates by a process of fundamental questioning delivered the mind of its own innate wisdom, the great Christian apologists have simply disabused the mind of its barriers against the coming of the revelation.[2] The revelation is *sui generis*.

Some of the finest illustrations of Heim's apologetic method are evidenced in his latest work, his three volumes on natural science and the Christian faith. Following a lead from the German physicist, Pascual Jordan, that the language of today is the language of the natural sciences, Heim has gone to the trouble to think through the faith as it relates to the latest sciences and to communicate the faith in juxtaposition to scientific questions. Motifs in contemporary thought, inspired by ancient materialism and Newtonian mechanism, attributing absoluteness and causal necessity to the objective world, are attacked not by theology but by a newer science. Physics, it seems, has been forced to become more philosophical by its successive reduction of matter to an indeterminate element, of space and time to relativity, and of mechanical necessity to acausality. The theologian in this context does not ask science to listen to the dogmatic conclusions of faith but simply to the wistfulness of science itself. After science has been allowed to interrogate itself, the faith introduces the meanings which are essential but inaccessible to science. The universe is sustained by a living God who relates Himself to the ongoing process as He will.

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[1] *Der christliche Gottesglaube und die Naturwissenschaft*, Erster Teilband, p. 33.

[2] Emil Brunner's works also illustrate this method. He himself has given it the aggressive name, 'eristic' or 'Christian Socratism', and he refers to it as 'theology's other task'. *Zwischen den Zeiten*, 1929, pp. 255-76.

As to the problem of the origin and end of the world, the new science has itself destroyed the Laplacian and Newtonian concept of a closed, self-existent universe. The universe is open at both ends. It has its beginning in an indefinable fog and its ending in what the scientists themselves call a 'natural science eschatology'. The interpretative value of natural science in these instances, however, is candidly negative. It clears the air for what we need desperately to know about our universe but cannot know from science. God is at the beginning and at the ending of time. This affirmation is utterly out of the sphere of scientific method, but it shockingly corresponds to the deepest, though unanswered, questions of science.

There is a vast difference between apologetic in this sense and natural theology. Natural theology, as Karl Barth has rightly called it, is a species of intellectual works-righteousness where the mind arrives at the truth of God, not independently of God, perhaps, but independently of God's revelation in Christ. It is a kind of theological peeping-tom act which spies on God independently of the manner in which God wishes to reveal Himself. It may succeed in finding out God's hands and feet, but as Calvin has said, it will not find His heart. The heart is the sole master of its secrets.

Why, then, an apologetic? Why not simply a quiet, patient waiting for God to break into our perception when and where He will? Apologetic proceeds neither out of scepticism of God's ability to make Himself known independently of apologetic nor on the basis of a theory of natural revelation. Apologetics answers to the call of Christ to preach the Gospel to the world. It is not difficult to be a Greek to the Greeks—if one is a Greek. Nor is it difficult to be a man of the world to the men of the world if one is a Christian, for a Christian is always at the same time a worldling. Apologetics simply calls upon a man to do earnestly what comes quite naturally—to talk to one's neighbour in the terms of one's neighbour about the matter of our life and death. A man in Christ knows much more about his neighbour than the neighbour knows about himself, not by virtue of his neighbour-relation but by virtue of the transcendent perspective of the Christ-relation.

A man is never asked, however, to step from his false though orderly world-view into an esoteric faith-relation whose contacts with the rest of reality are allowed to remain amorphous and chaotic. The Christian man has the privilege of living within a church which is constantly developing 'an honest theology of cultural high standing', to use Paul Tillich's phrase. This is no longer apologetics in the sense of establishing a bridgehead on enemy territory. It is the consolidation of gains. Nor is it simply dogmatics or systematic theology in the sense of the exposition of the faith of the Church. It is avowedly secondary to dogmatics, but not thereby without importance. It is a frankly bifocal enterprise which, while informed by the substance of Christianity, is patterned by the dominant issues in the culture of the time.

A detailed comparison of this method with the emphases of Barth or Bultmann would be highly rewarding. Suffice it here to make several generalisations.

Barth dismisses both elements in Heim's apologetic. 'Point of contact' and 'Christian ontology' are scholastic residua in Protestant theology, he claims.[1] Heim, however, believes that Barth has defaulted in his leadership in the Church's conflict with the unbelieving world. There is no disputing the fact that Barth has warmed the heart of the believing community, and Heim constantly professes his personal debt to Barth. Whether Barth has chilled the life of modern man with a 'sublime monotony' is a serious charge whose validity the future alone can appraise. At the same time there is already impressive evidence to the effect that Heim's theology could lead the Church 'out of the stuffy air of a closed space in which it spoils miserably, into the full expanse of world events'.[2]

[1] In the light of his earlier criticism of apologetics, Barth's most recent pronouncement obliges him to a more expansive elaboration. 'In some one sense all theologians in all times have been and also must be apologists as well. But it is clear that one has thereby seen and comprehended only one aspect of his undertaking, and this not the tendency most important to him, but certainly only a noteworthy by-product of his work.' 'Rudolph Bultmann: Ein Versuch ihn zu verstehen', *Theologische Studien*, Heft, 34, p. 43.

[2] Kurt Leese, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, J. 24, p. 120.

Heim's relation to Bultmann is not yet clear. Hermeneutic to Bultmann is the be-all and end-all of the theological task. Its method includes in one discipline what other theologies have splintered into exegesis, dogmatics, apologetics, and preaching. At the same time, its existential inferiority tempts it to regard so-called 'Christian world-views' such as Heim's as cosmological abstractions lacking pertinence to one's self-understanding. There are evidences that this by-passing of contemporary scientific data has unwittingly oriented Bultmann's thought to nineteenth century mechanistic science. He rightly finds it at war with first century science but wrongly makes concessions to it when, in fact, in important respects there is more affinity between first century mythology and twentieth century cosmology than between nineteenth and twentieth century cosmology.[1]

Barth, by his exclusive preoccupation with the Christian gospel in its own terms, is in danger of running parallel to modern culture, though he himself understands this connexion as a circuit which God, not man, completes. Bultmann, with his concern for understanding the first century gospel in modern terms, quite naturally is charged with secularising the gospel. The same accusation was made against Schleiermacher and Ritschl who, in their eagerness to be relevant to culture, allowed cultural principles a constitutive role in their theology. It may be found that Bultmann, like some of his nineteenth century predecessors, is in the apologetic tradition of Hegel, who found it necessary not simply to change the form of Christianity, as Kant had done, but its content as well. Or, it may just as well be found that in employing the existential concept of truth as self-authentication he has transcended the limit of the traditional opposition between truths of eternal reason and truths of historical fact.

The position of Barth seems quite secure. He is committed to a monolithic effort to shut out every worldly influence from the exposition of the Christian faith. The question as to whether in so doing he cuts himself off from the world remains open. Bultmann has fraternised so hazardously with the world that it remains a question as to whether his Christian accent has retained its dialectical edge. Karl Heim has attempted to reach the world without jeopardy to the Christian gospel. Not even the pietistic community of Württemberg questions his orthodoxy. He moves with no noticeable sense of intellectual agony back and forth from the existential needs of the modern world to what he takes to be the historical facts of the first century gospel. Behind the appearance of dialectic with the world, he has run the risk of maintaining a parallelism as sharp as Barth's and at the same time pursuing the hermeneutic task less earnestly than Bultmann.

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[1] Cf. Erich Przywara's use of Heim's work against Bultmann in *Frankfürter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4th November, 1952, article entitled 'Mythos, Offenbarung, Weisheit, Wissenschaft'.

It is the great merit of Barth that he has developed in theology today a conscience about the unique source of the Christian faith in the reality of God and His revelation. It is the merit of Bultmann that he has been willing to lose his traditional faith to save it for the contemporary world. It may be the merit of Karl Heim that he has stood at the point of tension between these polar passions. The apologetic of the future will be required either to choose between or in some way to combine the objective concentration of a Barth, the hermeneutic courage of a Bultmann, and the border-line strategy of a Heim.

KIERKEGAARD AND EXISTENTIALISM

by The Rev. J. HEYWOOD THOMAS

It is usual to regard Kierkegaard as the father of the contemporary existentialist movement and to say that he is the first of a long line of existentialists. Thus Ruggiero says of existentialism:

> Its origins are very distant and very near, very distant in the solitary torment of one religious soul, the Danish writer, Søren Kierkegaard, in whom the passionate reaction against Hegelianism assumed, round about a century ago, contorted and passionate forms which were yet not without greatness and authentic power.[1]

Our intention here is not to dispute the truth of such a statement but simply to point out how it is true and how it can also be false. That the contemporary existentialist philosophy (if indeed we can use such a term) in some sense derives from Kierkegaard cannot be doubted. But, valid though this assertion is, to say that Kierkegaard is an exponent of existentialism can be very misleading. Few words are used so frequently and often with such little notion of its significance as the word 'existentialism'. M. Jean Wahl records that he was asked by a waiter in a New York restaurant whether he was an existentialist. M. Wahl remarks that to the waiter the term existentialist was obviously synonymous with 'Bolshevist' and similar opprobious epithets![2] It is therefore a strange thing that this movement should have any relation at all with Kierkegaard, because he was violently opposed to the kind of chatter which one often hears from the camp-followers of the existentialist philosophers. The very popularity of the philosophy would have nauseated him. In his own writings very sparing use is made of the word 'existence', and he never once used the terms 'existentialism' and 'existentialist'.[3] Despite his polemical nature this method of taking sides in philosophy would have little appeal for him. His great admiration of Lessing was due in part to the fact that Lessing had stood for thinking things through and had emphasised that this was more important than the results one gained. Lessing indeed had no results![1] M. Wahl puts the matter very well thus[2]:

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[1] Guido de Ruggiero, *Existentialism*, Secker and Warburg, 1947, p. 20.

[2] Jean Wahl, *Petite Histoire de l'Existentialisme*, Paris, 1947, p. 11.

[3] He did not use the term 'existential' before 1845 in the *Postscript* where, it is true, it is used frequently.

> On ne peut définir d'une façon satisfaisante le terme existentialisme. Le mot existence dans le sens philosophique qu'il a aujourd'hui a été découvert par Kierkegaard. Mais peut-on appeler Kierkegaard un existentialiste? Il ne veut pas être un philosophe et surtout un philosophe déterminé.

If then by existentialism we mean a philosophy of existence then obviously it is true to say that he is the father of existentialism.[3] But let us see what this term meant for him.

The philosophy of existence is clearly opposed to the classical conceptions of philosophy which one would find in Plato, Spinoza and Hegel. For Plato philosophy is the search for eternal essences which are unchangeable.[4] The philosopher's task is that of finding a universal truth which will be valid for all time. He is to raise himself out of the world of becoming.[5] Such, too, was Hegel's idea of philosophy. He, indeed, more than anyone pushed to its limits this attempt to understand the world rationally. Whether he succeeded or not, it certainly was Hegel's intention to construct a scheme of thought in which the system would be indistinguishable from the reality itself. His ambition was thus to show that the real was essentially rational. He had opposed very emphatically the arid rationalism of Wolff. But what was wrong with the dogmatic philosophy was not its assumption that absolute reality such as it is in itself can be known by means of concepts, but simply its methods of handling concepts. The Hegelian philosophy might be described as the expansion of the rationalising which science had accomplished in its study of nature to the domain of spirit. It gave birth therefore to the ideal of an integrated rationalisation of science, art, philosophy, and religion. The task it set itself was that of including everything within itself as moments of its own truth. Now this meant that in the System everything is real—as explained. Even the idea of motion which is of fundamental importance in the Hegelian System is no exception to the general character that everything else has, namely that it has meaning only as moments in the evolution of the universal idea.

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[1] Vide *Postscript*, p. 61.

[2] Wahl, op. cit., p. 12.

[3] It must be noted, however, that the history of this sort of thinking can be traced to Schelling, if not to Kant and Leibniz.

[4] Cf. *Phaedo* and *Republic*.

[5] The Platonic conception of salvation which resulted from this was very similar to that of the early Christian ascetics and monks.

The philosophy of existence which was Kierkegaard's philosophy was born in his protest against such a conception of philosophy as that which we have outlined. As against Hegel's emphasis on objectivity and his constant search for objectivity Kierkegaard advances the thesis that truth is subjectivity. Now we shall not understand what this means unless we recognise that for Kierkegaard the themes of subjectivity and existence are closely related. So he says that the philosopher *qua* philosopher seeks an eternal truth, but for an existing person the highest truth is subjectivity: that is to say, it will be found within himself. Theodor Haecker says that in this principle of subjectivity we find the very heart of Kierkegaard's thought.[1] Here we stand at 'that critical point which divides him from the whole course of western philosophy'. Kierkegaard brought the person of the philosopher into philosophy. He changed the emphasis from 'the objective world of ideas to the person who has those ideas'.[2] But what exactly did Kierkegaard mean by this slogan 'Truth is Subjectivity'? He meant, I believe, more than one thing—a fact which is perhaps not often appreciated. One of the most important strands in this theme is the insistence that the only truth which matters in existence is the truth which edifies, the truth which concerns me. Another is the thesis that nothing is true for me unless I personally appropriate it in profound pathos. Kierkegaard protested violently against the idea that the learning of this sort of truth could be a simple matter of course.[3] Ethico-religious truth could not in any way be regarded as something to which one could be related as 'a matter of course'. The consequence of this illusion was that there was a notion abroad that there was no difference between being a Christian and knowing Christianity—than which there could be no more pestilential error. The classical philosophy was concerned with knowledge but not with existence. The one thing which Hegel had never learned was what it meant to exist.[4]

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[1] Theodor Haecker, *Søren Kierkegaard*, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 23.

[2] ibid.

[3] Vide *Postscript*, p. 24.

[4] Vide *Journals*, 610.

When we try to place this protest in its historical setting and relate it to previous philosophies we are faced with a most difficult task. The importation of the person into philosophy might be held to carry us as far back as Greek philosophy. Kierkegaard denounced the scandal of the divorce which was obvious between men and their work.[1] Is this, then, the distinction between *scientia* and *sophia*? The influence of Socrates, which can be clearly discerned in Kierkegaard, would suggest that this distinction is at least part of his meaning. In Greece, Kierkegaard thought, an artist would not be content with producing works of art: he would want to be one himself. And similarly with a philosopher. Socrates did not have a philosophy—he was it. A man's philosophy is, Kierkegaard says, the house in which he lives or it is nothing.[2] It seems undeniable, therefore, that there is in Kierkegaard's philosophy of existence an echo of the doctrine which has traditionally been ascribed to Socrates —that Goodness is knowledge.[3] And this knowledge, says Burnet, is in the first place 'knowledge of what is good for the soul'.[4] Kierkegaard's admiration for Socrates has been discussed by more than one scholar and it has been maintained by some that at one time his estimation of Socrates was essentially Hegelian.[5] Be that as it may, it is practically certain that Kierkegaard would regard Socrates as the first source of his existential philosophy. Yet it cannot be doubted that his thought was to a large extent influenced by the anti-Hegelian movement in Germany and Denmark. There is evidence in the *Journal* of his enthusiasm for Schelling's philosophy of 'reality' which was a protest against the abstractedness of Hegel's philosophy.[6] It may well be that his later disappointment with Schelling was due to his seeing that this philosophy of reality was still not a philosophy for life.[7] Together with Schelling must be mentioned Poul Møller to whom also Kierkegaard was indebted, for Møller in a way foreshadowed Kierkegaard's existential philosophy (though that term perhaps derives from Sibbern). One point now emerges clearly. The philosophy of existence which is Kierkegaard's existentialism means a philosophy for life. This term is tragically vague; and it is sometimes used in such a way as to suggest an antithesis to philosophy itself. When this opposition is made it is assumed that philosophy is a disinterested inquiry and that a philosophy for life cannot be this. But surely this is thinking of philosophy in terms of a false analogy with science. And whereas it is true that in science concern for actual existence is irrelevant, indeed improper, it does not follow that it is so in philosophy. For Kierkegaard subjective philosophy is neither a grand construction scheme with abstractions as materials, nor a game with no relevance to the human situation. In either case we would be in the scandalous position he denounces—that, namely, in which our thought and action are kept vigorously apart. Our thought must, he insists, be the house in which we live.[1] For Kierkegaard then the philosophy of existence must take its starting-point in the human consciousness and be intimately related to the human situation. Presumably, it is this which the late M. Berdyaev had in mind when he said that Kierkegaard's philosophy was not existentialist but expressionist.[2] The philosophy of existence must be empirical in a radical sense.

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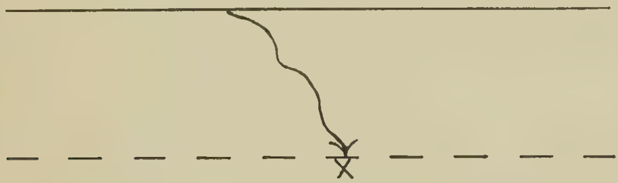
[1] Vide *Journals*, 552.
[2] Vide *Journals*, 583.
[3] Cf. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, Part I, Macmillan, 1920, pp. 170 ff.
[4] ibid., p. 176.
[5] Jens Himmelstrup, *Søren Kierkegaard's Opfattelse af Sokrates*, 1924.
[6] Cf. *Journals*, 392.
[7] Letter to Peter, 27th February, 1842.

Kierkegaard insists that man is always in process of becoming. To quote a phrase of M. Sartre's, 'l'homme est un projet'. Consequently, man always lives in the future, 'cet individu existant se sent toujours en devenir, a toujours devant lui une tâche et appliquant cette idée au christianisme Kierkegaard dit: on n'est pas Chrétien, on le devient.'[3] Geismar has illustrated the existing attitude of the individual by means of this diagram:



The top line signifies the eternal that is to be brought into time to be expressed in it. The dotted line signifies the moments of time, and *X* is the precise moment of time in which the eternal is brought into the temporal.[1] Existence is the expression of the eternal in time. It is worth insisting that for Kierkegaard existence belongs to man alone. He never uses the word exist of anything but man.[2] The speculative attitude is the very opposite of this and the arrow would go in the reverse direction. This attitude moves from the temporal to the external, but it moves backwards and not forwards. Kierkegaard defines the task of the individual thus:

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[1] *Journals*, 583. Cf. ibid., 582, *Training in Christianity*, p. 178.
[2] Wahl, op. cit., pp. 165-6. Cf. *Either-Or*, Vol. II, p. 179.
[3] Wahl, op. cit., p. 16.

> In existence where the existing individual finds himself, the task is . . . whether he will be so good as to exist. As an existing individual he is not called upon to create existence out of the finite and the infinite; but as one who is himself composed of finite and infinite it is his task to become one of the two existentially. It is impossible to become both at the same time, as one is both by being an existing individual.[3]

From this we can see that not only is the existence of the individual for Kierkegaard something which is in the future but that it is also essentially a religious concern.[4] But to return to this somewhat mysterious remark about the individual—namely that he lives as existing in the future and that his attitude moves forward. This means that existence is a matter of choice and will. If we 'exist' (using the word in Kierkegaard's strict sense) then we shall discover that we are always confronted with a choice between two courses of action in accordance with the dual character of our nature. The individual may be said thus to live in his choice, and choice relates to what he will be, what he is to become. So the individual always lives in the future.[5]

Just as existence is something essentially human so it is something essentially religious. In his characterisation of existence Kierkegaard is quite explicitly maintaining the traditional Christian anthropology. Man is a synthesis of finite and infinite or, as traditional terminology puts it, he is created in God's image but dwells in time. Thus there lies behind his theory of existence a definite theology. One can go further and say that not only does he use certain concepts which were essential features of orthodox theology but actually uses the word existence so as to make it religious. Thus he says:

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[1] Geismar, *Søren Kierkegaard*, Vol. III, p. 31.

[2] Unfortunately Professor Swenson uses 'existence' and 'being' indiscriminately as translations of 'existens' and 'vœren'. Similarly with their verbal forms.

[3] *Postscript*, p. 376. Cf. pp. 74, 79n, 368, 377, 387.

[4] Cf. *Postscript*, pp. 313, 350.

[5] Cf. *Postscript*, p. 350 *et passim*.

> For an existing individual the concept of an eternal happiness is essentially related to his mode of existence, and hence to the ideality of the actual; his pathos must be correspondingly qualified.[1]

Again and again Kierkegaard insists that existence is always 'before God'. But if existence is existence before God then it would seem to follow that it is no longer envisaged as an isolated state but as a relation—the relation between man and God. And the *Postscript* shows that Kierkegaard does so regard existence.[2] Thus M. Wahl rightly says:

> Il s'agit pour lui de se sentir toujours devant Dieu, de réintegrer la notion de devant—Dieu dans la pensée chrétienne. Mais se sentir devant Dieu c'est avant tout se sentir pécheur. . . . Exister c'est donc être pécheur; et d'autre part exister est à la fois la plus haute valeur et le péché.[3]

We shall not follow Kierkegaard's discussion of sin and the consciousness of sin. It is sufficient for us to see that the existential thinking with which he is concerned is religious. The term 'existence' applies only to that being which is 'before God'. And without taking sides on the question whether this may not be after all the truth about our existence, we can say that this is an *a priori* limitation of the use of the word which is quite different from the customary usage (which would include all the modes of being to which Kierkegaard would refuse the name 'existence'). The justification for this is that in his philosophy of existence Kierkegaard shows an ascending series of stages which reminds one of the Hegelian evolution of the idea by its ascending scale of levels of existence. We refer, of course, to the famous doctrine of the three stages—the aesthetic, the ethical, and the religious. For Kierkegaard therefore the highest type of being is the religious existence. So the philosophy of existence becomes a religious philosophy, a philosophy characterised by 'concern' and hence 'subjective' thinking.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the doctrine of the three stages. The aesthetic stage may be regarded as a-ethical and a-religious. According to Judge William, despair is not only the bankruptcy of the aesthetical life, it is its only remedy. 'What then must you do? I have only one answer; Despair!'[4]

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[1] *Postscript*, p. 347.

[2] Cf. *Postscript*, p. 201, pp. 239-43, pp. 516-18.

[3] Wahl, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[4] *Either–Or*, Vol. II, p. 145.

This despair, according to the Judge requires all the strength of the personality. 'So, then, despair with all your soul and with all your mind.'[1] 'So, then, choose despair; for even despair is a choice, for one can doubt without choosing to do so, but one cannot despair without choosing. And when a man despairs he chooses again—and what is it he chooses? He chooses himself, not in his immediacy but he chooses himself in his eternal validity.'[2] By despairing and choosing oneself in one's eternal validity the ethical level of personality emerges. The third essay of *Either-Or*,[3] the sermon of the country parson is Judge William's Ultimatum to A. The subject is 'the edification implied in the thought that before God we are always in the wrong'. Thus the ethical stage is an approach to the religious stage. And in *Fear and Trembling* Kierkegaard presents the problem of the collision between the ethical and religious modes of life, a collision which produces in the individual the sense of a religious 'fear and trembling'.[4] The main character of the book is Abraham the Old Testament patriarch and the book may be described as an analysis of Abraham's faith as illustrated by the sacrifice of Isaac. God demands of Abraham the sacrifice of his only son, who was to make Abraham the father of millions. But ethically this is murder. Abraham believed—he accepted the paradox. And his faith is a leap into existence—like every movement in life which brings about a real change. It is not necessary for us here to analyse these 'stages' further. But there are one or two things of importance which emerge. The stages are for Kierkegaard exclusive and closed worlds. All men are of necessity in one stage or another. If a man is to move from one stage to the other, it is not development that will lead him to it. The stages are indeed successive on each other and one moves from the aesthetic, through the ethical to the religious. But the movement is a leap. Now this category of leap is of fundamental importance in Kierkegaard's philosophy of existence. It is in a way the same thing as subjectivity; but it points more clearly to the necessity of choice. Thus there are here revealed to us several categories which are exceedingly significant. These are the categories of leap, anxiety or dread, sin, and 'before God'. It is not too much then to say that for Kierkegaard existence is only possible when one has experienced dread, and has made the leap into existence 'before God', and so knows oneself to be a sinner. 'Only when the self as this definite individual is conscious of existing before God, only then is it the infinite self: and then this self sins before God'.[1] We see then that the philosophy of existence is religious not only because it describes 'existence' in terms of concern for the eternal but because it introduces the notion of God, of choosing God and recognising oneself as a sinner. It is difficult here to avoid being lost in the complexity of Kierkegaard's thought. But it would be just to make Kierkegaard maintain the following theses:

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[1] *Either–Or*, Vol. II, p. 145.
[2] ibid., p. 177.
[3] ibid.
[4] *Fear and Trembling*, p. 59.

(*a*) Man can be said to exist only when he chooses to take the risk of faith in God.
(*b*) When he does choose, he faces despair. He despairs absolutely.
(*c*) When man exists before God, he knows himself to be a sinner.
(*d*) Though a sinner, man must express the eternal in time. In this way alone is he a man.

There is one other point we must notice about this description of existence before we consider the other features of Kierkegaard's philosophy of existence. This is the fact that for Kierkegaard existence is a contradiction. He says that man is a synthesis of the eternal and the temporal.[2] So he speaks of existence as the child of eternity and time. Let us remind ourselves of the passage in the *Postscript* where Kierkegaard describes the task of the existing individual.[3] Here he says that man is both finite and infinite by being an existing individual. This seems very much like the 'Ghost in the Machine' which Professor Ryle ridicules in *The Concept of Mind*.[4] It is at any rate the traditional view of man as soul and body. And he does seem to want to make the two elements in man qualitatively different; for he often speaks of this absolute difference between time and eternity, and of existence as a paradox. This is apparent from the *Postscript*.[5] What is important is that though this is extremely fruitful for Kierkegaard it is yet fundamentally a logical contradiction. It is fruitful for him in this way. The person who—almost by definition—most fully expresses eternity in time is Jesus Christ. This is a tautology. But it is given content as a directive for our action. Because this παρὰ δόξον is our example and pattern and the act of existing is the striving to do as he did, namely express our eternal nature in time. So much then for the description or characterisation of existence which he gives us. The philosophical use he makes of this is the refutation of the fallacy which he thought was Hegel's *par excellence*—that of identifying thought and existence.

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[1] *Sickness unto Death*, pp. 128-9.

[2] *Postscript*, p. 376. Cf. p. 384 above.

[3] ibid.

[4] Ryle, *Concept of Mind*, pp. 11-18.

[5] Cf. *Postscript*, pp. 84, 313, 413.

The System, Kierkegaard felt, presented an identity of thought and reality—only at the price of forgetting what existing meant. Now that we have seen what it means to exist according to Kierkegaard, we can see that this type of thinking does not really understand the case. It would be idle to pretend that Kierkegaard's criticisms here are at all easy to grasp. In fact there is a great deal of confusion in what he writes—though this is partly due to the inadequacy of the translation, arising from the use of the one word existence to render the two opposed terms used by Kierkegaard. With this caveat in mind let us proceed to examine what he says. Three criticisms are put forward. The first is that existence means contradiction, which thought must abrogate if it is to conceive it. Secondly, existence implies interest, which fact is ignored by the systematic thinker. Finally, existence (being) is open, whereas the system is closed. Kierkegaard's thesis, then, with regard to existence is that an existential system is impossible. Such a system cannot be formulated—not only has it not been formulated, but it cannot be. This thesis, however, is not for Kierkegaard purely a matter of logic, for he admits that to God existence does present itself as a system. However, with this admission goes the insistence that for us, as existing human beings, it is not a system. We may feel that here Kierkegaard marred his analysis by this orthodox theological assertion, that having made his point about existence he should have carried it further and said that for God as for man there can be no existential system. But the fact is that he does not say this. He says that in this, too, God is differently situated from man and that the systematic philosopher's mistake is to think that he is able to view things as God does.

> Because abstract thought is *sub specie aeterni* it ignores the concrete and the

temporal, the existential process, the predicament of the existing individual arising from his being a synthesis of the temporal and the eternal situated in existence.[1]

Here Kierkegaard says two things and not simply one. He is maintaining that the concreteness of the temporal process is something which eludes thought's grasp and also that the paradoxical nature of man and his existence must defy all attempts to include it in thought. So Kierkegaard says that the abstract problem of existence is not so difficult as the problem of the concrete existence of the individual. In this way Kierkegaard poses the problem of what it means to say that a definite something exists.[2]

His contention is that the system cannot do justice to the individual. As an instance he discusses the way the systematic thinker deals with immortality and shows that he is not concerned with the real question of immortality for me, namely whether I am immortal.[3] 'Abstract thought thus helps me with respect to my immortality by first annihilating me as a particular existing individual and then making me immortal.'[4] Together with this he says that the paradox of existence shatters the systematiser's hope to include existence in his system. In this connexion he decries with heavy irony Hegel's refutation of the principle of contradiction. The quotation is long, but it is as well to hear Kierkegaard's own words.

'Hegel is utterly and absolutely right in asserting that viewed eternally, *sub specie aeterni*, in the language of abstraction, in pure thought and pure being, there is no either–or. How in the world could there be, when abstract thought has taken away the contradiction, so that Hegel and the Hegelian ought rather to be asked to explain what they mean by the hocus-pocus of introducing contradiction, movement, transition and so forth into the domain of logic? . . . Hegel is equally wrong when, forgetting the abstraction of his thought, he plunges down into the realm of the existence to annul the double *aut* with might and main. . . . When I take existence away, i.e. when I abstract, there is no *aut–aut*; when I take this *aut–aut* away from existence I also take existence away, and hence I do not abrogate the *aut–aut* in existence.'[5]

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[1] *Postscript*, p. 267.
[2] loc. cit.
[3] ibid., pp. 152-8, 180.
[4] ibid., p. 268.
[5] ibid., pp. 270-1.

Kierkegaard's second criticism is that there is involved in existence interest which is alien to thought. This is once again the subjectivity theme which is so important for Kierkegaard. The existing individual has an interest in his existence, whereas abstract thought is disinterested. This fact that the individual is 'infinitely interested in existence' constitutes the difficulty of existence for philosophy, thinks Kierkegaard.[1] Because of this interest it is indeed ludicrous to think that existence can be comprehended within a system. Were it comprehended in a system, it would be a matter of emphasising it in a paragraph. But, Kierkegaard points out, this cannot be done without shattering the system. If you are to emphasise existence at all, you must abandon the fond hope of having a system.[2] Further, he maintains that existence is opposed to thought because the former is open, whereas the latter, in so far as it is systematic, is closed. It is in this way that Kierkegaard criticises pantheistic systems. The usual criticism of such systems which challenges them because they destroy freedom could, he remarks, be as forcefully put by saying 'that every such system fantastically dissipates the concept existence'.[3] And every system is guilty of this because its very finality makes it pantheistic. This is the same point as he makes by saying that abstract philosophy views things *sub specie aeterni*. It is an unfortunate expression, but it is clear that what Kierkegaard submits is this: that in thus viewing things abstract philosophy forgets that the situation in which it finds itself is the existence of the philosopher. And in this situation it is not possible to regard existence as a completed something. The finality which characterises the System is precisely what cannot by definition characterise existence. So Kierkegaard says that when systematic thought conceives existence it conceives it as abrogated. 'Existence separates and holds the various moments of existence deliberately apart. Systematic thought consists in the finality which brings them together.'[4] As long as we devote our energies to existing we cannot become the comical figure of the 'professor', the systematic thinker who has forgotten what it means to exist. Discussing the existence of God, Kierkegaard points out that here too there must be interest or there is not existence.[5] He rejects the idea that it is possible to demonstrate the existence of God by showing that argument moves away from existence and not towards it.[1] God has *existens* in the person of Jesus Christ. Indeed we can say that for Kierkegaard the God-Man is the classic example, if not perhaps the only example, of 'existing' since He surely is the fullest expression of the eternal in time. The God-Man is 'the existential',[2] and we know this by the interest of faith.

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[1] *Postscript*, p. 268.
[2] ibid., p. 267.
[3] ibid., p. 111.
[4] ibid., p. 107.
[5] Cf. *Journals*, 605.

We shall now view the later philosophy of existence, the contemporary existentialism, to see how this position resembles that of Kierkegaard and how it does not. At once we are faced with the difficulty of deciding whom to include under the rubric 'existentialist', so mixed a bunch are these philosophers. However, we shall be safe enough if we consider Sartre, Jaspers and Marcel as representing the movement. Sartre has little to say that has not been said by Heidegger but is none the less a popular figure and usually regarded as thus the most important of the existentialists. Now if we take him as an example of existentialism we shall see that his conception of existence is not at all that of Kierkegaard. True, he does stress the creativity of man and says emphatically that only when he is creative does man really exist. He only achieves genuine personality when he exercises his freedom to create himself. We can see here possibly a hint of Kierkegaard's remedy for the breakdown of the aesthetic stage, namely to choose oneself. But it need hardly be said that this is very different from Sartre's self-creation. The self is no eternal self for the author of *L'être et le néant*. His description of 'anguish' in *L'existentialisme est un humanisme* is another instance of the vast difference between him and Kierkegaard. 'Anguish' for him is due to the necessity of man's making a choice when his decision affects the whole of his world. God is dead and so man must bear the burden of responsibility.

Jaspers' 'existentialism' is more easily dealt with than Heidegger's, which Sartre represents, and we shall not do either Sartre or Heidegger a great injustice if we consider Jaspers' thought as the more important. Jaspers argues that, since Kierkegaard's attack on Hegel, it has ceased to be possible to imagine that one can comprehend the whole scheme of things in an intellectual system in which everything is fitted with everything else in complete harmony. Concrete existence will not fit into such systems. And this applies, according to Jaspers, not only to metaphysics but also to science. He rejects the claim of science to be able to construct a complete world-picture. For him philosophy marks the limits of science by indicating that such objective knowledge is only one mode of knowing and that there is another, namely the subjective, which science cannot treat. As there are various modes of knowing, so there are various modes of being. Jaspers recognises three: (*a*) being-there; (*b*) being-oneself; and (*c*) being-in-itself. Our knowledge of these three different modes of being cannot be brought together to make a single scheme. 'Being-there' is the being of stable objects and it is with this being that science concerns itself. The second mode of being, 'being-oneself' is the being of personality as self-determined by its freedom. So one makes and remakes oneself in this 'being-oneself'. There is no connexion between this being and the objective 'being-there'. The third kind of being is what Jaspers calls 'being-in-itself', which is the realm of transcendence. This is the realm of unity which man cannot know, but to which he has access by his own transcendence. This notion is difficult to grasp. It includes unity and totality and indicates what the world manifests. Though the world reveals transcendence it is not identical with it, yet subjects and objects are comprehended within it. Religious faith and philosophy make us aware of the presence of Transcendence. We are aware of God's presence in inwardness but we do not know God. He speaks to us in riddles, but there is a personal response to a personal existence. Jaspers has been perhaps the most successful of the existentialists as a metaphysician. He of all of them comes nearest to constructing a more or less coherent system. We see many marks of Kierkegaard's influence in his language, but it is doubtful whether the similarity is more than superficial. The existence which Jaspers talks of has none of those specifically religious, even Christian, qualities which Kierkegaard mentions. And of such an object of faith as the God-Man with His offensiveness to Reason we hear nothing.

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[1] Vide *Philosophical Fragments*, pp. 31 ff, *Postscript*, p. 295.

[2] *Journals*, 1054.

Marcel is a Christian and has been directly influenced by

Kierkegaard. He too protests against the reduction of existence to a concept. He notes that this is a common practice of the idealists: 'L'existence apparaît ainsi comme quelque chose à qui la pensée s'adosse peut-être mais qu'elle tend à coup sûr et par là-même à perdre de plus en plus complètement de vue.'[1] And, like Kierkegaard he protests not simply in the name of concrete individual existence, but in the name of subjectivity. He argues that the emphasis of the objective gives us only a vague appreciation of its 'existential aspect' and existence will be pushed to the limit. 'On conçoit donc fort bien que par delà un semblable idéalisme qui, sans nier l'existence, l'écarte . . . puisse s'édifier une thèse plus radicale, d'après laquelle l'existence devra être regardée comme révocable en doute.'[2] It is impossible, says Marcel, to dissociate existence from an existing thing. For him, too, existence is for thought the point of departure rather than the result of its argument. So he says that it is only by a contradictory process that we can raise the problem of God's existence. Existence cannot in any way be regarded as a demonstrandum. And in the case of God one affirms His existence by faith which can only be justified by saying that it transcends knowledge. But however much Marcel resembles Kierkegaard in his emphasis on existence and concern for man's peculiar existence, it is doubtful whether Kierkegaard would have regarded him as a kindred spirit. In his *Homo Viator* and *The Mystery of Being* he shows that he is attempting to construct a metaphysic from his analysis of 'subjective' existence. And it is likely that for Kierkegaard this would be almost as bad as Hegel's attempt to introduce movement into logic.

We are now in a position to see how much truth there is in the popular assumption that Kierkegaard is the first of the existentialists. Certainly the basic assumption of all contemporary existentialism is the distinction he draws between subjectivity and objectivity. And as subjectivity is expressed in the act of existence, in the act of choice, we can say too that existentialist philosophies concern themselves generally with the problems of existence, choice and despair. But it is also obvious that the precise meaning of these terms is different in each case.

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[1] Gabriel Marcel, *Journal métaphysique*, Paris, 1935, p. 309.

[2] loc. cit.

For this reason it is most misleading to call Kierkegaard an existentialist. For to him *Angst* has no relation to what Sartre calls *angoisse*. Their uses are quite different and if one is made the correct use, then the other is a clear abuse. So, for Kierkegaard existence is specifically religious, while for Sartre existence indicates the state of freedom in a world without God. And again one wonders whether Kierkegaard might not even have refused to call his philosophy a philosophy of existence in so far as it expressed himself, because to him existence was a task always before man. This 'genius in a provincial town' was humble enough not to claim that he 'existed'. And as for building a system, it was the last thing he wanted to do and the last thing he wanted done with his work. His concern was not with existentiali*sm* or any other *ism*, but with the all-important question 'what does it mean for me to exist as a religious individual?' It may well be that existentialism is one of the elements of an 'Either-Or' of which the other is existence. That it would be so for Kierkegaard we are sure. For him existential thinking is thinking in and for action. Ruggiero says very well:

> It is interesting to observe that this philosophy, originally a protest against the spirit of system in the name of contingencies, the hic et nunc, the personal singular, should have become more and more systematic, until its original protest against the philosophical churches has been transformed into a new church even more dogmatic and rigid than those it aimed to expose. So it has passed from the fragmentary, tortured notes of Kierkegaard to the large though still limited work of Heidegger and eventually to the massive, corpulent systematisation of Jaspers.[1]

The very systematisation which is typical of contemporary existentialism and which explains our urge to regard the movement as a school is what is not typical of Søren Kierkegaard. Hence, though the movement has borrowed much from Kierkegaard it has developed into something quite alien to him. Gabriel Marcel describes this in a very neat way.[2] He compares the history of existentialism to the tunnels on the St.-Gothard railway. It started as a reaction against the Hegelian system but it now emerges considerably below the level from which it has started. And so if we are to use the term existentialism to cover the thought of Sartre, Jaspers, Heidegger and

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[1] Guido de Ruggiero, op. cit., p. 22.

[2] Gabriel Marcel, *Philosophy of Existence*, p. 61.

Marcel we can only use it to describe Kierkegaard's work when we have entered so many caveats as to make the application practically worthless. Let us beware, then, of giving a glib answer to the question, Was Kierkegaard an existentialist? It would be a judicious and useful lie to say that he is not.

THE PASTORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

by THE REV. PRINCIPAL J. S. GLEN

OUR subject is one which concerns the personal aspect of theological education—that side of a student's preparation for the ministry which pertains to himself, to the secret of his individuality as distinguished from academic achievement. In particular, it has to do with his decision to enter the ministry, his problems of faith and life at each stage of his preparation, and finally the transition which he makes from student life to the full responsibility of his calling. If we take the position that theology is only properly understood as Church theology, then it follows that the teaching of theology must be regarded as a ministry of the Church with a responsibility to the student as a person, and, therefore, different from teaching considered as a secular function. And since the teacher in the New Testament has always had a close association with the pastor, if not often identified with him, we have further justification for the claim that theological education has a pastoral responsibility.

Our first obligation in considering this subject is to convince ourselves of its practical need. For it is by no means obvious in the history of theological education that the personal aspect of a student's preparation for the ministry has been seen in its proper perspective. The same isolated individualism which in congregational life has prevented people from realising that they are members one of another in Christ, has also prevailed in theological education. Therefore, instead of discovering the complexity of a student's decision to enter the ministry and his efforts at understanding the real nature of his calling, it has assumed no formal responsibility for his personal problems, nor considered them as much more than intellectual difficulties susceptible of a purely rational and impersonal treatment. The deep, complex, personal side of his life where his problems are only understood as spirit answers to spirit and are only solved by the justice and mercy of God is often forgotten.

The need of pastoral care at every stage of theological education will be better understood if we first think of the more obvious personal difficulties of the average student from the time he makes his decision to study for the ministry until he assumes his full responsibility as a minister of the Church. Under the present plan,[1] he spends three or four years in the faculty of Arts of a university before entering upon a similar period of study in the faculty of theology, the total period varying from six to eight years. The period of study in the faculty of Arts provides him with a cultural background, a knowledge of language, history, philosophy and other subjects which prepare him for his work in theology and his later work in the ministry. It is the period in which he acquaints himself in a technical sense with the thought and spirit of the world around him, but one during which, surprisingly enough, he receives the least amount of pastoral care commensurate with his personal problems. For now, as often happens, he finds himself in a strange city with new surroundings where he is confronted by the expert and challenging ideas of a university without the close personal relationships which he has had at home with his family, church and community. Without a sufficient grounding in his religious faith and knowledge of the Bible, he soon finds himself embarrassed, when he has to fight his way through some of the most difficult problems alone. It is granted, of course, that a student should have to fight his way through difficult problems, if he is to understand the thought of our age from the inside and enter into the experience of his fellow men. As Daniel Jenkins has expressed it in his penetrating study, *The Gift of Ministry*, the student 'cannot honestly do this if he goes (to university) to find out "what modern men are thinking" so that he can have all the Christian answers pat, to all the questions they are likely to raise in after life. He can only do it by himself becoming a modern man and sharing in all the doubts and temptations and enriching experiences of modern men, surrendering all the advantages which a Christian form of *securitas* might provide him with. Unless he does this, his ability to translate the Gospel into radically new terms while retaining its essential content . . . becomes impossible' (p. 114). But even though we agree with the wisdom of this observation and recognise that our present plan of education allows for it, the principle which it involves is better in theory than in practice. For the question remains—is the student ready for such a trial when his decision to enter the ministry is in a tender stage and his knowledge of the faith elementary? It is not unlike the practice of sending raw recruits into the firing line—not that they should be exempted from the firing line and always sheltered but that the process should be accompanied by pastoral supervision.

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[1] The reference is to the situation in Toronto.

After his course in Arts, the student enters theology where he is expected to acquire a thorough knowledge of basic theological subjects. Usually a lesser emphasis is placed on practical training although its nature and extent vary from one college to another. But in any case, the question of the student's personal decision to enter the ministry and his personal problems as he becomes aware of the real nature of his calling receive little direct attention. To be sure, he has intellectual problems both as a legacy of his university education and as a product of his theological study. But as we have already indicated, these are never merely intellectual—especially in the case of a student looking forward to the ministry. For each bears a special relation to his personal commitment as a prospective minister of the Church. Each modifies his understanding of the kind of minister he wants to be against the background of his history and personality. It is not like solving a problem in mathematics or performing an experiment in the laboratory where the personal factor is abstracted as much as possible from the thinking process. For in theology, however objective may be the scholarship, there is no getting away from the fact that the student is preparing himself for the ministry which is the deep and abiding personal reason for his presence in the classroom. And although this has received little direct attention as a part of formal theological education, the indications are in almost every country that something has to be done to assist the theological student in a personal way to understand and adapt himself to the full responsibility of his calling.

One of the best statements of the need for such a specialised pastoral care comes from a distinguished member of the Commission on the Ministry of the Federal Council of Churches of America. This is what he says:

> Theological education since World War II has begun to face an unprecedented problem of personal vocational adjustment among students. Time was when it was assumed that men came to the seminary quite sure of their calling, taking for granted the minister's status among his fellow Christians and heading casually for a particular field of ministerial service. Now all that is changed. Most students enter seminary today still harried by the deepest questions about the ministry . . . 'many an effective minister is not converted', we used to be told, 'until he comes to seminary'. In the full meaning of the term 'conversion' this has never been so true as today. . . . Often new students arrive perplexed, insecure, only half convinced of their vocation—and some of these are the best men of the lot. The old assumption that students who come to seminary are 'signed up', ready to go, knowing what they want to be and do, has had to give way to a new effort on the school's part to help each man find and enlarge his vocation. (J. O. Nelson in *The Christian Century*, April 26, 1950, pp. 525-6)

The implication of this statement is that the theological college has to become increasingly aware of its work as a ministry of the Church—its teaching always more than teaching, its research always more than research, its scholarship always more than scholarship, especially in a world like ours where personal faith and integrity are the best witnesses of the truth we confess.

But there is another stage in his education which confronts a student with difficulty—the transition from formal theological education to the full responsibility of the ministry itself, a period which in the training of a medical practitioner would be carefully bridged by supervised clinical experience and a recognised internship of a year or more in duration. To appreciate the difficulties of such a transition, we should keep in mind that by the time the young graduate in theology enters the ministry, he has probably had eighteen or twenty years in school, beginning with the kindergarten and ending with theology. Unless he has had more than average experience in other occupations which confront him with people and life, he has been confined to, if not considerably sheltered by a narrow academic groove. All through the years his courses of study have been laid out by others, his hours fixed by others, and his examinations set by others. He has been told what subjects to study, what books to read, what problems to consider. In many ways, without realising it, he has been working for his teachers, for marks and degrees, without discovering what it means to work for himself, for a sheer joy and interest in his calling. Then he begins his ministry where all of this suddenly changes—where everything is reversed. Now he has to lay out his own course of study, find his own sermons, choose his own books, select his own problems. Now he has to determine his own hours because in the ministry, unlike other callings, a man has the responsibility of a great measure of freedom and the temptation to waste his time is equally great. And since he is no longer working for his teachers and for marks and degrees, the difficulty of learning to work for himself is also great. Indeed, it may be that nothing motivates him except the demand of an approaching engagement. Moreover, as he ministers to his people he is faced with complex life situations which he has to analyse for himself—all of which is so different from the expert and rational atmosphere of the classroom. Little wonder that the transition period from formal theological study to the full responsibility of the ministry is difficult, especially if we keep in mind the magnitude of the task of the ministry in our time, of which the more mature and intelligent student will be most aware.

Now that we have reviewed some of the personal problems of the theological student relating to what is popularly known as his vocational adjustment, we can look at the picture in another way—not in terms of what lies upon the surface and which therefore easily lends itself to description, but in terms of those deeper, spiritual changes within himself, without which he can never understand his calling. These are never brought about by merely pragmatic methods—never properly described by that mechanistic term 'adjustment', for they relate to the student's personal relationship to God as He is known in Jesus Christ and testified to by the Holy Spirit. In this regard there are two important matters upon which we ought to reflect if we are to understand our pastoral responsibility: (1) *The Inherent Offence of the Call to the Ministry*, and (2) *Its Clarification in the form of a Commission.*

The first of these is something which every student sooner or later experiences and often does not understand. For just as there is the offence of the cross, there is the offence of the ministry of the cross. It is the outworking in the student's experience of what Jesus said to His disciples: 'If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you' (John 15.19). For anyone today who is deeply influenced by the modern philosophy of success with its emphasis on popularity and visible results—and which of us is not deeply influenced—it is especially hard to realise that the ministry in its truest sense is always inherently unpopular. There is a deep and lasting sense in which the world will always hate the ministry. And while we acknowledge this in a theoretical way, we find it hard to accept in practical experience, especially in a society where the ministry has so long enjoyed a respected status. For the young theological student, it creates a special vocational problem. He not only has to face those problems which students in other vocations normally face as they look forward to their work, but this unique difference—that his vocation embodies within itself the offence of which Jesus spoke to His disciples.

Indeed, he should remember that the call to the ministry always stirs up some form of opposition within himself, if we may judge by the experiences of great men of faith in the long history of the Church and of the Bible itself. Their response to the call was never without some inner resistance, some conflict of mind and heart, something they had to struggle against and deny—and this in various ways to the end of their ministry. Even when they had the greatest assurance of their calling, it was never a safe, static persuasion, free from all forms of conflict, but a warfare from which there was no exemption. More than one prophet at the height of his calling has wondered at the offence of his calling.

If, therefore, we rightly understand the offence of the call to the ministry, we will see that it creates its own deep disturbance in the heart of the student, independently of those problems he meets when he reaches the university and theological college. We will not assume that these institutions create most of his problems for him but that they superimpose their problems upon this deeper one which conditions his faith and life. The main difficulty of the student will therefore be, not his doubt and the many intellectual problems of his long academic course, but his personal acceptance of the offence of his calling as the only way which leads to the joy, the satisfaction and the enduring reward associated with the ministry. It is the paradoxical task of denying himself and taking up his cross so that the fundamental purpose of all his preparation might be fulfilled. Certainly as a young Christian he will look forward to his ministry with enthusiasm—but as yet his enthusiasm will not be tested, disciplined, and mellowed by the bearing of the cross. That requires time. But the temptation is always to avoid it—to maintain an enthusiasm, a quality of personality which will attract people with its radiance, but which has not paid the price of bearing the cross. This devious avoidance of the offence of the ministry may lead to much success and popularity, a fair show after the flesh, as Paul describes it, but not to the genuine joy and satisfaction of the ministry itself. It will not make for spiritual maturity. The true joy of the ministry is the joy which comes of seeing the light of the Gospel illumine a darkened soul, bring peace where before there was chaos, love where before there was hate. It is the joy of seeing broken homes restored, bereaved hearts comforted, estranged people reconciled, and fear and anxiety dissolved in an atmosphere of trust. It is the joy of seeing faith deepened and instructed, personal problems clarified, and men and women coming to a spiritual maturity in which their word is dependable and their love beautiful and wholesome. But this will not be realised unless the minister himself accepts the offence of his calling as the pathway to such a reward. The student can be prepared for it to some extent by supervised experience in the ministry and by a better understanding of the meaning of spiritual maturity. But the problem will always be that of growing up in the fellowship of the faith until he becomes a father to his people—and for this purpose the fellowship of student life in the classroom and residence ought to be conceived as a real part of the preparation for the ministry—learning to live together in such a way as to bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ.

The second matter upon which we ought to reflect to understand the deeper nature of our pastoral responsibility to the student is the *Clarification of his Call in the Form of a Commission.* This takes us beyond the question of its certainty to its definition—to the clarity with which he understands his task in terms of his own life here and now as he finds himself in one practical situation after another. If, for example, we study the Biblical conception of the call of God to His servants, we shall find not only the unique and mysterious claim which He laid upon them, of which they always had a peculiar certainty, but we shall find that it always involved a specific commission—something He asked them to do in the light of a particular historical situation. They were not only *called*. They were *sent*. Indeed, the word 'apostle' had this literal meaning, 'one sent with a commission'. What he was sent to do was as specific as the authority with which he was sent to do it. Too often perhaps in our desire to do justice to the idea of apostolic authority, we forget the specific nature of the apostolic commission. It was not something vague and general—something so comprehensive that it lost its meaning, like the betterment of mankind, the moral uplift of society—but something definite and often narrowly circumscribed. Briefly expressed, an apostle was one who knew what he was to do. And the prophet of the Old Testament bore the same characteristic. He knew what he was to do. Again and again we read how God sent them to particular places and persons to say specific things. Their call always had an historical orientation—always a profound recognition of history—even the local history of communities and the private and personal history of individuals. There was no disposition to despise history,—to despise particularity in the interests of something general which was therefore assumed to be more spiritual. In the case of Paul, this was understood in terms of his mission to the Gentiles, to the cities of the Roman provinces—a task to which he set himself with a singleness of mind and a persistence of purpose which affected everything he did. There was no doubt that he knew what he was to do. Although he testified to the mystery of the Gospel, he was not for this reason vague about his task. For we are assured both by his letters and the account of his missionary journeys that when he entered a synagogue or met a possible convert, he had a definite conception of what he was to say and what result he wanted to obtain. And this permeated his approach to every practical problem.

The specific character of the commission which accompanies the call to the ministry has important implications for theological education. It is not a matter which can be left for every student to work out for himself independently of others because what each sees as his task is bound up with the specific task of the Church in our time. And this involves not only the decision of the individual but of the community of believers itself. We say, for example, that we are called to preach the Gospel, but what does this mean when we have to prepare a sermon, think out its structure and immediate objective? What does it mean in planning the work of the year ahead? We say, for example, that we are called to minister to the sick, the bereaved and burdened of heart. But what does this mean when we are engaged in conversation with a parishioner who is free to express himself with no pulpit between? When a medical practitioner is called to a patient, he has a way of going directly to the source of the trouble and doing something about it. All his knowledge and training is brought to bear upon a single, immediate objective which he clearly understands. He has a definite aim to which his vast technical knowledge is thoroughly orientated. There are limitations, of course, which from the spiritual nature of the minister's task prevent him acting in a similarly direct and technical manner, but the illustration of the medical practitioner has its point. For we observe in the New Testament how our Lord had His way of going directly to the source of trouble in the lives of individuals and prescribing His form of treatment. In His pastoral conversations, He often laid His finger upon the basic difficulty in a way which utterly amazed those who came to Him for help.

To expect something similar in the ministry of the Church should not be misinterpreted as a quest for a technique which will do the work which only God can properly do Himself. It is not a substitute for His Spirit, nor a desire to walk by sight rather than faith, but a recognition of the specifically historical orientation of our commission.

In recent years we have witnessed attempts in various parts of the world by Christians in different trades and professions to rethink the meaning of the Christian life for their particular work. A group of lawyers will meet together to discover what the Christian life means specifically for the practice of law, a group of medical men will do the same for the practice of medicine, a group of labour leaders will do the same for labour. In every case, the aim is to be specific—to clarify as it were the call of God to the Christian, whatever be his place in the world. As yet, however, there has been too little of the same desire on the part of the ministry and those perparing for it. The task of the ministry has been accepted as though it were permanently defined by Church tradition and the conventional role expected of a minister without having to be re-thought by each man and by each new generation of Christians as God lays upon them His commission.

Today, the student for the ministry finds it increasingly necessary, due to the complexity of the modern world and the emergence of new forms of living, to inquire into the specific nature of the task which God requires of him: it is forced upon him by the urgency of the situation in which God Himself is ever present. But it is also forced upon theological education which, to understand the specific nature of its commission, must help the student in a new and living way to understand his. Again, it is a question of pastoral responsibility.

'And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city and it shall be told thee what thou must do.'

SOTERIA

by THE REV. R. McL. WILSON

In the Gospel according to St. John it is written that 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved.'[1] In these familiar words is summed up the message of the Bible as a whole, and of the New Testament in particular. In spite of all that may be said of sin and depravity, of judgment and the wrath of God, the last word is one not of doom but of salvation. The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is a Gospel of salvation, of deliverance and redemption. The news that was carried into all the world by the early Church was the Good News of the grace and love of God, revealed and made known in Jesus Christ His Son. In the words of Paul, it is that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself'.[2]

Yet it is unfortunately doubtful whether every reader has in his mind a clear conception of what is meant by 'salvation'. Like so many others, the words employed to express this concept have behind them a history which has affected their meaning; and it is matter of fact that words are often used without any real understanding of their significance. Even within the limits of the Bible itself it is possible to trace a process of development, from the earliest and most primitive ideas of the Old Testament to the full splendour of the Christian hope.[3] And moreover these same words are used also to express the central ideas of other religions, so that on a superficial reading confusion is rendered easy. The hopes and the aspirations of the Christian faith are read into other systems, and the novelty and originality of the Gospel are thereby diminished.

In the Greek New Testament the word most commonly employed to express this concept is *soteria* (σωτηρία), or one of the cognate words derived from the same root-form. A full consideration of the idea of salvation would involve also a consideration of other concepts, such as the Kingdom of God and eternal life, but this lies beyond the scope of the present study.[1] It must suffice to observe that these concepts *are* equivalent,[2] and to concentrate attention on *soteria* itself and the related terms.

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[1] John 3.16 f.

[2] 2 Cor. 5.18.

[3] Cf. Adams Brown, 'Salvation', in *HDB*, iv, pp. 357 ff.

According to Wagner,[3] the word *sozein* (σώζειν) and its derivatives refer in their natural sense not to deliverance from any emergency whatever, but to deliverance from a quite definite danger—in short, to a transition from the sphere of death to that of life. This may be unduly to restrict the meaning, although Wagner explicitly and deliberately confines himself to the New Testament writings, which afford a certain justification for his claims.[4] It is however certain that the root idea is that of deliverance, with in every case some danger or evil presupposed. A survey of the ideas of the contemporary paganism and of the preparation in the Old Testament will serve to throw the characteristic New Testament ideas into high relief.

In the pagan world of this period we can discern a deep sense of need, a yearning and a longing which men sought in different ways to satisfy. The successive crises of the centuries preceding the Christian era had created in the minds of many a longing for a real peace and security, while the collapse of ancient religion had deprived them of the last anchor of faith and assurance. The temper and outlook of the age are well summed up in Professor Gilbert Murray's phrase 'The Failure of Nerve'.[5]

For some the chief interest lay in the purely practical sphere—in the peace and security so much desired by men wearied after long years of war and upheaval, rather than in any real religious longing. In this connexion the use of the title *soter* speaks for itself.[1] It belonged originally to the old Olympian gods, and in particular to Zeus, to whom vows were paid on the completion of a safe voyage; but it was a common practice to bestow it upon the benefactor of some municipality—so common indeed that the index to Dittenberger simply, and significantly, replaces the usual references by the single word *passim.*[2] And in the Hellenistic Age it was accorded to the Ptolemies and other rulers, above all to the Roman emperors—in a word, to the leaders to whom men looked for stable government, security and prosperity, deliverance from the upheaval of war and civil strife. This in itself is significant.

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[1] Cf. the relevant articles in *HDB*, etc., and Richardson, *Theol. Word Book of the Bible.*

[2] Cf. Matt. 19.16, 23, 25; John 3.16, 17, 10.9 f; 2 Tim. 4.18; 2 Pet. 1.11; and see Wagner in *ZNTW*, 1905, pp. 213 ff.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 205 ff.

[4] Even here, however, it may be questioned whether he is right in regarding the Exodus (Jude 5, etc.) not as a deliverance from the land of bondage but as a deliverance from the land where destruction and extermination awaited the people. It is true that *sozein* is frequently contrasted with *apokteinein* and *apollunai*, but this does not mean that the contrast is inevitably implied in every case. The Exodus itself is certainly 'the most signal instance of the Divine salvation in the early history of Israel, and the one which made the deepest impression on the national memory' (Adams Brown, loc. cit.).

[5] Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, Chap. iv.

At the same time, however, there was also a sense of a deeper need. Epictetus was not the first nor was he the only man to feel that Caesar could give peace from war, but not from sorrow.[3] One answer to this deeper need was offered by the contemporary philosophies which preached deliverance by detachment from the things of this world; another, and one which more immediately concerns us here, by the Mystery Cults, which promised salvation and eternal bliss. It has been claimed that these cults influenced the Christian faith, but a close examination brings to light the profound difference between them.[4] At most it was a matter of the employment of Mystery terminology by such a man as Paul as a vehicle for the proclamation of the Christian faith, the translation of the Gospel into the language of the day. Wagner rejects Wendland's argument that the Christians adopted the term *soter* from pagan use and applied it to Jesus, but does not consider that this piece of syncretism was not of the same kind as that current in the pagan world around. It was not simply a matter of setting Jesus on a level with other 'saviours', as was done by Elagabalus, but of claiming that He and He alone was the true Saviour. The way had been prepared for the Christian usage not only by developments in Hellenistic religious thought,[5] but also by the use of the word in the Septuagint. No other term so completely gave

[1] Cf. Wendland, *σωτήρ* in *ZNTW*, 1904, pp. 335 ff.

[2] Dittenberger, *SIG.*

[3] Epict., 3.13.9.

[4] Cf. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*; Anderson Scott, *Christianity according to St. Paul*, pp. 22, 122 ff.

[5] Cf. Mackintosh, *The Person of Christ*, p. 75 n.

expression to the Christian faith concerning Christ, but at the same time the word itself received a new depth of significance. So it was also with such terms as were adopted from the Mystery religions. The words might be the same; the meaning was very different.

Salvation for the pagan world meant above all deliverance from 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune', from the power of a malignant fate, and it was to be attained by some process of initiation which culminated in the apotheosis of the worshipper.[1] In one of the Hermetic documents[2] it is said that the knowledge of God alone has saving power for men—an apparent parallel to such New Testament passages as John 17.3, but one which takes on a very different appearance when we examine the nature of this *gnosis*. Finally we have a variety of ordinary meanings, such as those cited from the papyri by Moulton and Milligan[3]: the *preservation* in a temple of the sacred revenues or of official documents, the *saving* of life in sickness,[4] *deliverance* from danger at sea,[5] or *security* and *well-being* in general.[6] These indications of the normal usage in the contemporary world serve to provide a background for the New Testament use. The general idea is that of safety or preservation, the danger, whether real or threatened, being sometimes though not always indicated. And beneath there was the vague unsatisfied yearning of a world ill at ease.

In the New Testament *soteria* and its kindred terms are employed in a natural way which is completely in accordance with that of Hellenistic and classical Greek in general, but there is also another element which may be traced back to the pages of the Septuagint. Here the words with which we are concerned are used to render a wide variety of Hebrew terms, and particularly of the salvation of Israel.[1] This again is in conformity with classical use, in which *sozein* and the kindred words are employed of the welfare and preservation of the state; but here a question may be raised regarding the content given to this idea. It is true that for many it would be conceived in more or less purely materialistic terms, but it must also be said that there was a real tendency in certain circles to think along more spiritual lines. Thus some of the later prophets could conceive of a future for the religion of Israel even after the State had gone down in ruin, a future which rested entirely upon the grace of God.[2] In most of the Old Testament salvation has meaning only for this life,[3] but along two separate lines there is a real preparation for the ideas of the New Testament. These lie in the growth of the doctrine of a resurrection[4] and in the increasing inwardness of the concept of salvation itself, as deliverance not merely from external evils, the outward consequences of sin, but even from sin itself. If on the one hand salvation is sometimes regarded as equivalent to victory in war, deliverance from trouble or distress, or the assurance of security and prosperity, yet there are also the more profound and spiritual ideas contained in the prophetic tradition, ideas which find their completion and fulfilment in the Christian concept.

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[1] Cf. *Poim.* 26: This is the good end for those who have attained knowledge, to be deified.

[2] *Corp. Herm.*, 10.15 ap. Reitzenstein, *HMR*, p. 295.

[3] *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*, s.vv.

[4] Cf. for example in NT. Matt. 9.21 ff (cf. the parallels); Mark 5.23 (cf. Luke 8.50), 6.56; Luke 7.3, 8.36; John 11.12; Acts 4.9, 14.9; James 5.15.

[5] Cf. the references to the Flood (Heb. 11.7; 1 Pet. 3.20); also Matt. 8.25, 14.30; Acts 27.20, 31, 44, 28.1, 4. In Acts 27.44, 28.1, 4, the compound *diasozein* is used, in the passive, with the meaning 'escape'; in 27.43 the same word occurs in the active with the meaning 'bring safely through' (cf. 23.24 of safe conduct under escort).

[6] Cf. Ps. 118.25, 106.4, 5. Reference may be made also to those cases in which the danger comes from human enemies, or in which the threat is that of death in general: e.g. John 12.27, with which may be compared the prayer in Gethsemane in the Synoptic tradition (Wagner compares Heb. 5.7); Matt. 27.40 ff carries an undertone of deeper meaning.

The characteristic Christian belief becomes distinct when we consider from what men are saved, for what, and by what means. 'The best illustration of the meaning of the idea for Paul occurs in Rom. 5.8-10: "God proves his own love towards us because while we were still sinners Christ died for us. Much more, therefore, having been justified now by his blood, we shall be saved from the wrath (the final eschatological reaction of the Divine nature against sin) through him. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his

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[1] Cf. Luke 1.69, 71; Acts 7.25; Jude 5.

[2] Cf. *HDB* and *DCG* s.v. Salvation. For such prophets as Hosea and Isaiah the true well-being of the nation lay not so much in its material prosperity or earthly glory as in its fidelity to the God of its fathers. But in the later portions of Isaiah this is combined with a 'Messianic' hope of a future salvation (see Adams Brown, loc. cit.).

[3] Adams Brown, in *HDB*, iv, p. 360.

[4] ibid. The doctrine of individual resurrection 'meets us for the first time in Isa. 26.19, and is repeated in Dan. 12.1-3'. It was to undergo considerable development in the period between the Testaments (see *HDB* and Richardson, *TWB*, s.v. Resurrection).

Son, much more, having been reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." The atmosphere of *soteria* in Paul is the love of God revealed to men in the Cross of Jesus Christ. Everything in it goes back to that.'[1] In contrast to those contemporary ideas which placed the root of the trouble in the body, in matter, in the mere fact of earthly existence, the Christian faith finds the root of evil in man's disobedience and in his consequent alienation from God. As Norden observes,[2] it is the forgiveness of sins that marks off Christianity from all its competitors. Salvation is indeed from the power of death; it is indeed the opening of the gates of life; but this is first of all because death is the wages of sin. In the first passage in the New Testament in which *sozein* occurs it is used to describe the work of redemption: 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'[3]

In the words of Jesus Himself, 'the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.'[4] He came 'that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly',[5] a life which is life indeed, and which includes the renewal of the broken fellowship of man with God. In this respect the parable of the Lost Sheep is plain and to the point.[6] It speaks of man's alienation under the figure of the straying sheep, and of the Shepherd's patient search, giving vivid expression to the feeling which had grown from Old Testament times, that the evil to be overcome was too great for man's unaided efforts. Our human need, and God's power to meet that need, to do 'exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think',[7] these are the central features.

In the Old Testament, it is true, the warrior heroes of Israel could be hailed as saviours.[8] Salvation there is often a matter of victory in battle, deliverance from the enemy, security or prosperity. But it is never forgotten that it is God who is pre-eminently the Saviour of His people. It is He who raises up in time of need the leader who can win the victory. As it has been put, the history of Israel is 'the history of the saving activity of God in the corporate life of the people through the agency of appointed leaders.'[1] And with the passage of time the sense of need became intensified and deepened. Despairing of the present order, men looked for the day when God would intervene for the deliverance of Israel, to bring into being the new order of His Kingdom.

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[1] Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, p. 218.

[2] *Agnostos Theos*, p. 11, n. 1.

[3] Matt. 1.21. According to Taylor (in Richardson *TWB*, p. 220), only in this one passage is salvation explicitly stated to be from sin, but 'the close connexion of specific troubles and dangers with disobedience to God means that this particular text does express the meaning of the NT as a whole.'

[4] Luke 19.10.

[5] John 10.10.

[6] Luke 15.3 ff. Cf. the following parables of the Lost Coin and the Lost Son.

[7] Eph. 3.20.

[8] Judges 2.18, 6.14. Cf. Taylor, op. cit., p. 219, Adams Brown, op. cit., p. 358.

The New Testament proclaims that the new age has already come,[2] that the day of the Kingdom has already dawned, and with this proclamation the deepest and noblest aspirations of the Old Testament find their true fulfilment, a fulfilment transcending even its highest hopes. Salvation in the New Testament means deliverance from sin, and from the power of sin; it means deliverance from wrath and judgment, which are the inevitable reaction to sin on the part of a holy and righteous God—that wrath of God which is 'revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men'[3]; and it means deliverance from death, for in a very real sense sin *is* death.[4] In a pregnant phrase Paul sums up the idea as 'death to sin'.[5] As such, however, it means also the gift of life, regeneration, renewal, reconciliation, and restoration to fellowship with God. Those who are saved are dead to sin, but alive to God.[6] It is no longer they who live, but Christ lives in them; for the life which now they live in the flesh they live by faith in the Son of God who loved them and gave Himself for them.[7]

This new life consists in a right relationship with God which presupposes justification and the forgiveness of sins. According to Rom. 5.8 ff, quoted above, this justification is associated with the death of Christ, salvation and the new life with the Resurrection; but in point of fact Paul can never separate the Cross from the Resurrection.[8] Salvation means not only a break with the past, not only the blotting out of past sins, but also newness of life in union with Christ. 'You who were dead in your sins God made alive with Christ, having forgiven us all our transgressions'.[9] 'We were buried with him by baptism unto death; that even as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the father so we also might walk in newness of life.'[1] This carries with it the most profound of implications, for it involves as its natural content holiness and righteousness of life.[2] It is impossible for those who have experienced the grace of salvation to continue in sin, for 'the old things have passed away; all things are become new'.[3] Christ 'died for all, that they who live should no longer live for themselves but for him who died for them and was raised'.[4]

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[1] Taylor, loc. cit.

[2] Cf. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*.

[3] Rom. 1.18.

[4] Cf. Rom. 6.23; Eph. 2.1 ff.

[5] Rom. 6.2.

[6] Rom. 6.10.

[7] Gal. 2.20.

[8] Cf. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 270.

[9] Col. 2.13.

In some New Testament passages *sozein* or one of its derivatives is used of the healing of disease, according to one of the natural uses of classical Greek. This sense of the word, however, is closely linked with the 'religious' usage, for the works of healing done by Jesus were not merely miracles but an essential part of His mission.[5] They are the signs that the new age has already come into being. To one sick of the palsy, Jesus said: 'Son, thy sins be forgiven thee', and in the sequel He goes on to maintain that His power over disease is symbolic of His power to forgive the sins of men.[6] The miracles of healing are the evidences of a greater power, demonstrating His victory over sin itself. Again and again we can detect an undertone of meaning, a reminder of the close connexion between the ministry of healing and His redemptive mission. He is the Good Physician, the bringer of health and salvation, the Saviour of body and of soul. In a word, salvation is not, as for the Greeks, the deliverance of man's immortal soul from the bondage of the body; it concerns the whole man, body and soul together, in every aspect of his life and every part of his being.

A misunderstanding of the Gospel, unfortunately not uncommon, regards salvation as purely a hope for the future—a blissful happiness which is the reward of self-denial and strenuous effort in this present life. It may be admitted that certain presentations of the Gospel unduly stress the future aspect, but any careful study of the New Testament itself will make it plain that salvation also belongs to the present. The Kingdom of God is here wherever men acknowledge His rule in their hearts and in their lives. The life everlasting is a present fact for those who are 'born again of water and of the Spirit'. In Paul's words, 'if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature'.[1] Something has happened, even if the complete fulfilment has yet to come. Salvation may be 'ready to be revealed in the last time',[2] but in a very real sense the believer is already able to partake of it, as one reconciled to God and restored to fellowship; and of this new relationship the living presence of the Spirit is the token.

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[1] Rom. 6.4.

[2] Cf. Rom. 12.1: 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, *by the mercies of God*. . . .' Ethics for Paul is the outcome of theology—the 'fruit of the Spirit' (cf. Gal. 5.22 ff).

[3] 2 Cor. 5.17. Cf. the indignant protest of Rom. 6.1 ff.

[4] 2 Cor. 5.15.

[5] Cf. Richardson, 'Heal' in *TWB*.

[6] Mark 2.1-12; note also the whole passage in Acts 4.9 ff.

Again, it is not something for which men have to strive, the reward of rigorous self-denial and strenuous effort; it is not something that has to be earned—in fact it cannot be earned. No effort of man's unaided spirit can overcome the corruption that is in our nature, the fatal flaw that vitiates even our highest aspirations.[3] Salvation is the gift of God which alone gives meaning and point and purpose to our effort. It is because we are already by His grace redeemed that we can begin to obey His will and live the life for which man was at the first created. 'By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast.'[4] In a word, it is an accomplished fact in and through the work of Christ, but it must be appropriated anew by each individual believer in a personal surrender and a personal commitment of himself. Only thus are the resources of the Spirit released in regeneration and renewal. The one thing for which Jesus looked in those who sought His help was their faith, their trust and confidence; but even He 'could do no mighty work' where faith was lacking.[5]

To sum up, *soteria* and the cognate words belong to that section of the New Testament vocabulary which deals with the central truths of our Faith, a section in which the ideas and their associations are complex and far-reaching, at one and the same time simple and profound. It is enough for the humblest believer to put his trust in God, as He is made known to men in Christ, and in that faith to seek to live his life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; but even the most learned can scarcely plumb the full depths of the meaning and significance of these words, and of the experience to which they refer. The one thing of which the New Testament is most completely certain is the entire sufficiency of the salvation that is in Christ. Paul can in one great passage speak of the whole creation groaning in travail, waiting for the revelation of the sons of God, creation itself in need of redemption[1]; but in a few verses he goes on to declare his conviction that no power in heaven or in earth can separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.[2] Probably the simplest definition would be that *soteria* means health and well-being, but it is well-being in all its forms, from soundness of body to the very highest ideal of spiritual health that can be conceived. It is not only 'salvation' in the future for our souls, whatever we may mean by that, but a renewal of life, a re-creation, for the whole man, a renewal of his relationships with God and with his fellow-men, a life which is life indeed. The yearnings and the aspirations of the pagan world, the hopes and the dreams of Israel, alike find their fulfilment in Christ, in whom all things are become new. If Simeon looked for the consolation of Israel, there were also three wise men who came out of the East, seeking the new-born King of the Jews. Centuries before, Isaiah had given voice to the hopes of his people in prophecies of a Messianic Age, while in the West Virgil saw in the Augustan peace the return of the Golden Years. It was to a world in waiting that the Gospel came, a world whose hopes had been raised so often, only to be disappointed. The very popularity of the Mystery Religions bears eloquent testimony to these hopes and aspirations, the yearnings of many who grasped at every promise. And the Gospel brought them the assurance they required, the confidence that made life worth living again. It delivered them from the nameless horrors that haunted them, from fear of life and fear of death, from magic and from superstition in every form. It directed their faith and trust to the one true God, with whom alone is salvation, who alone is able to visit and redeem His people, not of Israel only but over all the earth. The rock foundation of the whole is the eternal purpose of God, whose nature is love. In the words of Kennedy, quoted above, 'The atmosphere of *soteria* in Paul is the love of God revealed to men in the Cross of Jesus Christ. Everything in it goes back to that.' Paul himself[1] wrote: 'We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness; but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.'

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[1] 2 Cor. 5.17. [2] 1 Peter 1.5.

[3] Cf. Rom. 7.7 ff, esp. verses 14, 15; Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*, pp. 206 ff, 212.

[4] Eph. 2.8 ff. [5] Cf. Mark 6.5 and parallels.

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[1] Rom. 8.20 ff.

[2] ibid., 38 f.

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[1] 1 Cor. 1.23 f.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Dominion of Christ. By L. S. THORNTON. Dacre Press. 25s.

DR THORNTON's contributions to theology, especially the theology of the Incarnation and the Church, have been voluminous, and the present volume shares with its predecessors certain distinct properties of challenge and of difficulty. It comes as the second part of a treatise on 'The Form of the Servant', and incorporates, with some massive expansion, the substance of a Scott-Holland Memorial Lecture. It has as its definite object to establish the proposition that the dominion of Christ is to be understood primarily 'as a sovereign process of divine activity restoring the original plan of creation', and its method is to demonstrate this thesis by bringing to the light certain 'theological unities' discoverable in Holy Scripture, which for the most part lie beneath the surface and, therefore, escape detection. But it is axiomatic for Dr Thornton that the language in which God speaks to us in revelation exhibits a texture of assonances, congruities, and analogies which are of its very structure as a Divine mystery, and in the searching out of these, in support of his primary contention, Dr Thornton develops a highly midrashic system of exposition which will not appeal equally to all minds.

As for the main theme, viz. that the plan of creation is centred, for the New Testament consciousness, in Christ, there can be no two opinions. Redemption in Christ means the restoration of man to wholeness, as is symbolised in the healing-miracles of Jesus. Redemption is *apokatastasis*; compare Mark 3.5 and the eschatological discourse of St. Peter in Acts 3.21. Redemption is the rehabilitation of a created order paralysed, blighted, frustrated by sin. But equally redemption means return to the beginning, the recovery, so to speak, of the original lost youth of the world. This is made clear by our Lord's choosing of the young child as the type of those to whom the Kingdom of God is promised. It is the reestablishment of the lost sons of God in true response of filial life to their heavenly Father. Thus in Matt. 11 Jesus, the Wisdom of God, the beginning of God's ways in the order of creation, provides the teaching or 'yoke', the re-creative discipline of life by which men return to original spiritual soundness. In this manner the Kingdom of Christ is exemplified in its true character by our Lord's sayings about 'the little ones', in whom, as we might put it, the two creations, the old and the new, the first and the last, meet and are one again in Christ. In this section of Dr Thornton's book there is much lucid and, at times, impressive theological writing, with which both exegete and theologian can agree.

In Book II also, where the theme is 'conflict and victory', and where Dr Thornton is engaged with the tension created at the heart of a sinful order in which God's purpose to recall and restore the souls of men to their original norm of life is opposed by the powers of darkness, there is much effective theological writing. But here, in the working out of the cosmic drama in which Christ restores and fulfils creation, the midrashic method of establishing links between the beginning and the end of the process frequently involves Dr Thornton in exegesis of an ingenious but not always convincing kind. Genesis and the Apocalypse of John are brought together, and in the Incarnation, particularly in the Johannine and Pauline but also in the Synoptic representations, veins of thought are unearthed and explored which, for example, connect the 'new birth' in Christ with 'the seed of the woman' in Genesis, and the 'tent' of the flesh, in which the Redeemer lived on earth, with the conditions of Israel's pilgrimage in the wilderness, or which again bring the symbolism of the uplifted serpent into relation with the cross of Jesus, etc. Again, we are shown the relations which exist between six days of creation and the six days leading up to the Transfiguration of Jesus, and between the cosmic stone of the creation-myth, the temple-rock in Jerusalem, the stone closing the chasm over Sheol (Isa. 28.16), and the Bar-Jonah Peter rock on which the Church is founded. In the methods applied to the drawing out of some of these analogies the reader may feel that he is face to face with a new Christian type of Rabbinism, though a Rabbinism which, to do it justice, rests on an incomparably better basis of theological insight and reflection than its Jewish counterpart. In an exegesis of this kind it is sometimes difficult to think that the correspondences of type and antitype discovered by the theologian were actually present to the minds of the Biblical writers themselves. Dr Thornton would probably reply that this need not be assumed. There are depths in revelation which need not have been grasped by those to whom we owe the record of it, and doubtless the preacher may find many things to help him in this book, about which the historical exegete in his proper province will feel obliged to seal his lips.

W. MANSON

The Courage to Be. By PAUL TILLICH. Nisbet & Co. Ltd. 10s. 6d.

To do critical justice to the wide-ranging thought of this book one would need to be alike philosopher, historian, theologian, and psychiatrist. Your reviewer's competence is mainly confined to the last category. This very fact made the reading of a theological and ontological analysis of anxiety a matter of keen expectancy, for the right understanding of anxiety is probably the most urgently recurring concern of psychiatric practice, and, had we time and wisdom to face the facts, of general practice also.

Dr Tillich has made a systematic discrimination between pathological or neurotic anxiety and the existential anxiety which is an inescapable concomitant of human nature and human freedom. He is justified in remarking that although 'A search for the basic anxiety, not in cultural but in psychological terms, is made by practical and theoretical analysts . . . in most of these attempts a criterion of what is basic and what is derived seems to be lacking. . . . Only in the light of an ontological understanding of human nature can the body of material provided by psychology and sociology be organised into a consistent and comprehensive theory of anxiety' (p. 61). 'The medical faculty needs a doctrine of man in order to fulfil its theoretical task; and it cannot have a doctrine of man without the permanent co-operation of all those faculties whose central object is man' (p. 67). In a recent address to medical students, Lord Horder emphasised that the prerequisite of a doctor today is 'that he must know human nature as no other person knows it', for 'our danger now is indeed being human'.

Proceeding in philosophical terms, by analysis of the movements of culture and thought, Dr Tillich isolates three roots of the existential anxiety which is 'the heart's emotion as it faces ultimate non-being'. Non-being threatens man in three directions. Man's ontic self-affirmation is threatened by fate, by unpredictable contingencies, the last of which will extinguish him in death. Man's spiritual self-affirmation is threatened by a sense of emptiness, 'everything is tried and nothing satisfies'. This anxiety is aroused by a loss of spiritual centre so that existence itself becomes meaningless. Thirdly, man's moral self-affirmation is threatened, relatively by guilt and absolutely by condemnation.

Historically, the predominance of the anxiety of fate and death is seen to occur in the period at the end of ancient civilisation, that of guilt and condemnation at the end of the Middle Ages, that of emptiness and meaninglessness now.

Each of these forms of the basic anxiety of existence has its counterpart in neurosis, which is defined as 'the way of avoiding non-being by avoiding being'. 'The self which is affirmed is a reduced one. . . . He surrenders part of his potentialities in order to save what is left' (p. 62). This is a section which the Christian doctor and minister should wrestle with, for it provides many criteria of understanding for our daily task and marches confidently along the frontiers between theology and psychology with a clear eye for the topography.

There follows an acute analysis of the attempts, in successive cultures, to remedy the loss of the sense of participation, through collectivist societies, ancient and modern, and, of late, in American democratic conformism. They are forms of 'the courage to be as a part'. The strivings after individualisation in Romantic and Existentialist self-affirmations are seen as moving towards 'the courage to be as oneself'.

Within the orbit of theism the courage to be as a part is represented by mysticism, an affirmation of oneself in union with the Source of being. While mysticism represents in religion the pole of participation, the pole of individualisation is represented by the Divine-human encounter of Bible and Reformation experience and theology. But both of these, since now 'everything defined is dissolved by doubt and meaninglessness', need to be accepted and then transcended by 'absolute faith', which is 'the experience of the power of being which is present even in face of the most radical manifestation of non-being' (p. 167). This is 'a faith which has been deprived by doubt of any concrete content, which nevertheless is faith and the source of the most paradoxical manifestation of the courage to be' (p. 168).

The author avoids the unqualified use of the concept of 'faith' because 'it has lost its genuine meaning'. Faith is not an opinion but 'the state of being grasped by the power of being itself'. First one must despair of becoming acceptable. This itself is an act of faith. Then, at this point, to accept God's acceptance of one as accepted in His Son, is to be renewed at the core of one's being. This is the only adequate source of the courage to be in all its aspects. It has been characteristic of 'Christian psychologists' over the past thirty years to find no place in their teaching for 'justification by faith in Christ'. Dr Tillich places this great experience in its true place as the key to the 'treatment' of anxiety.

In its starting point, its premisses, and its language of communication this work is in the nature of an epistle of Paul Tillich the apostle to the Existentialists. He defends them with conviction as genuine interpreters of the present 'universal breakdown of meaning'. 'Twentieth century man has lost a meaningful world and a self which lives in meanings out of a spiritual centre'. It is their whitewashing opponents whose fear mechanisms are neurotic.

Not all the victims of this present anxiety of emptiness and meaninglessness have been driven by its logic to these ontological fastnesses, and not all, please God, will have to understand this ontological argument in order to return by faith to God. But all of us who teach or heal or minister today are meeting men and women at different stages of this disease. If we are to help them to radical healing we must understand their condition radically, its aetiology and early symptoms, as well as the pathology of the final stages. Here is its first classical description. But so far as most medicals are concerned it is written in an unknown tongue. The necessity for the communication is urgent. Many Christian doctors are baffled just at this point and means must be found to help them.

FRANK LAKE

The Christian Attitude to Other Religions. By E. C. DEWICK. pp. 220. Cambridge University Press. 1953. 25s net.

ALMOST in the last hours of his life, it is said, Archbishop Söderblom exclaimed 'There is a living God. I can prove it by the history of religions'. In the years which have passed since then, the outlook of Christian people on the arena of the ethnic faiths has become less forthright, less transparent, with a sharpening of the two contrasted aspects, the militant and the eirenic. Through the mingling of races in time of war, knowledge has been widely disseminated and interest lastingly aroused. Think of the surprise of the soldier who found himself being served at the canteen counter along with a Hindu, a Muslim, a Gurkha, and a Scots Professor of Divinity.

An important contribution to the debate is now made by one who is best known, perhaps, by his book on *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, but has already surveyed the ground in a small volume called *The Gospel and Other Faiths* (1948—a better title than that of Dr Heinrich Frick's *The Gospel, Christianity, and Other Faiths*, translated in 1938 by Professor James Haire—where 'Christianity' is almost synonymous with 'the Gospel misrepresented').

Dr Dewick insists modestly that his qualifications for dealing with the theme rest on acquaintance with adherents of other faiths, rather than on a scholar's knowledge of the sacred books of other religions in their original tongues; but, since that acquaintance extended over more than a quarter of a century and involved extensive contacts with Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists in India and Ceylon, it will readily be acknowledged that he has a right to speak and a claim to be heard.

The Hulsean Lecturer, says the injunction of the pious founder, is to be 'a learned and ingenious clergyman'; he is 'to show the evidence for Revealed Religion' and 'to answer all popular cavils' against Christianity; and he is allowed to engage in polemical controversy against other Christians only to the extent of assaulting 'the superstition of Popery, or the enthusiasm of Methodism'. (It is instructive to contrast the words of Lord Gifford's will which one hundred and eight years later established the lectures bearing his name. It was provided that 'the lecturers shall not be required to emit or subscribe any declaration of belief, that they may be of any religion or way of thinking, or, as is sometimes said, they may be of no religion, or they may be called sceptics or agnostics or freethinkers, provided only that the patrons will use diligence to secure that they be able reverent men, true thinkers, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth.)

In these Hulsean Lectures of 1949, Dr Dewick defines religion in sufficiently generous terms to include among 'other religions' those dynamic political creeds which dominate much of the earth's population. Communism, for example (once described by Nikolai Berdyaev as 'belief in God with the negative sign') receives fair and patient consideration.

The attitude which Christian people adopt today towards the ethnic faiths may be generally classified, I think, under one or other of four possibilities. There is that which is best described as the attitude of *the village-well*, natural to those who have never been brought intimately into contact with other religions and therefore have never been required to consider the question. Theirs is the naïve trust in their own as the sole and ultimate faith. At the other extreme is the man with the 'open mind' (at times so wide open that much which is precious appears to have fallen out) who sees the worth of all religions and tends in the process to obscure the value of his own. His reaction is like that of *the seismograph*, recording all motions indiscriminately and evaluating none. In lively contradiction is the third attitude, that of the iconoclast who has seen far beyond the village-well and from his knowledge of other religions has concluded that they are to be encountered only as idolatry is encountered; to be 'treated as hostile', condemned and attacked. The Parthian, with his vehement warning against any attempt to build bridges between other religions and the Christian faith, represents *the hammer* view, over against, for instance, the conclusions of the layman's report, *Re-Thinking Missions*.

Dr Dewick adopts what may for convenience be termed *the compass* attitude. The Christian ought to be aware of non-Christian movements in the world, and ought to be sensitive to all that is good, therein, and yet will turn back from every sympathetic examination of them to point unerringly to his own magnetic pole. Acknowledging that there is no direct pronouncement in the Gospels upon any religion other than that of the Jews and the Samaritans, the author concludes nevertheless that certain inferences can be drawn. In view of His general attitude it is legitimate to believe that Jesus would have approached non-Jewish religious systems with complete 'freedom from prejudice, expressing His judgment on each of them on its merits, and not assuming in advance that because their traditions were different from His own, they were unworthy of serious consideration' (p. 88). The Word of God that tabernacled among us in Jesus had also been operative in all creation from the very beginning (p. 93). It is the Light that enlightens every man. The conception of 'the Larger Christ' has its own dangers. 'If it is to retain its distinctive Christian quality, and not lapse into a vague sentimentality, it needs to be linked with an emphasis on the centrality and supremacy of the historic revelation of God in Jesus of Nazareth. But it is none the less a conception of vital importance' (p. 94). And in his illuminating chapter on 'The Recovery of First Principles' Dr Dewick writes: 'To deny that truth is ultimately one, and capable of being seen as a unity by the human mind, is to commit ourselves to an ultimate scepticism, which is fatal to religious faith, and none the less fatal when it is veiled by affirmations of dogmatic certainty' (p. 164).

He is notably skilful in diagnosis of the contemporary situation, acknowledging, as Professor Tillich did also in *The Protestant Era*, that God may speak for a time more powerfully through a non-religious and even anti-Christian movement than through the Church, and warning the complacent that the widespread reaction against materialism of which we are aware today does not necessarily lead men back to the Christian Church. There is a wholesome rebuke to Protestant Christians in the three quotations from Dr Gustav Warneck on page 110: 'There was no missionary activity by the Protestant Churches in the age of the Reformation . . . not even the idea of Missions'; Luther 'repudiated as "devilish" the belief that the world as a whole will ever become Christian'; Calvin and Melanchthon agreed in holding that 'the Kingdom of Christ is not to be advanced by any industry of men, but by God alone'; but in mitigation it should be remembered that the Reformers were busily involved in fighting those whom they considered to be the chief representatives of idolatry, for, as Dr Dewick notes, Luther included the Roman Church within 'heathendom'.

Throughout the book and particularly in Chapter VI there are many valuable suggestions for the reform of missionary policy and practice, based on sound theory and commended by the author's long experience in the mission-fields.

Because this book is so valuable and so timely, a few points may be indicated where subsequent editions might benefit. To a comprehensive and helpful bibliography might perhaps be added the writings of Nathan Söderblom on Zoroastrianism. The name of Romain Rolland is misspelt once and that of Kierkegaard, oddly, throughout. Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* was not part of his Gifford Lectures but an earlier work. And Dr Dewick's final chapter reads a little haltingly in its interpretation of the phrase 'joining the Church' (almost suggesting that a man joins not the Church universal but only a particular denomination) and in its use of the word 'conversion'. (In a note on page 188, for example, the author quotes without comment an awkward sentence of C. F. Andrews who was 'prepared to approve of conversion'.)

This refreshing and stimulating book is a reasoned defence of two theses in particular, the first that through Jesus Christ God has given a revelation of truth that is central, distinctive, supreme and satisfying for all mankind; the second that the Christian attitude does not exclude the possibility that God may also have spoken to men through other channels; and it calls on Christians to examine without fear or prejudice all evidence adduced for or against the second conclusion.

EDGAR P. DICKIE

The Image of God in Man. By DAVID CAIRNS. S.C.M. Press. 18s.

THE present writer recalls hearing Principal John Baillie quote the story told of Schopenhauer, that prophet and philosopher of gloom and despondency, of how he one day sat hunched up on a seat in the Tiergarten, sunk in profound reflection. A *Parkaufseher*, or as we should say 'parky', saw him and not unnaturally put him down as at least a suspicious character. He approached the solitary figure and peremptorily demanded: 'Who are you?' On being thus addressed, Schopenhauer shook off his abstraction, considered the question with immense seriousness for a moment or two, and then burst out vehemently: 'I wish to God I knew.'

Few would care to affirm that the ignorance Schopenhauer displayed has been entirely dissipated since his day. But at least it would be true to say that during the last twenty or thirty years the urgency and practical importance of the question here raised has been more properly appreciated. If only we could get a clear and correct answer to the query of the Psalmist: 'What is man?', many of our political, social and ecclesiastical problems would be in a fair way to solution.

The merit and value of the book under review is that it takes up and deals with this important question. It is true that both its title and its specified theme are more restricted than those of the classic theological work by H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, and other similar works. But the net result of these works and this now reviewed is much the same. They deal seriously with the fundamental question of what we really are, the others by a method of comprehensiveness, this more recent volume by a method of penetrating selectiveness. When Dr Cairns chose to lecture and write on the image of God in man, he laid a finger unerringly on the conception which is key to the thought of the Bible about man, and which must remain central if men's thought about themselves is to remain scriptural and true.

A study of the term leads one through the whole range of Christian theology. It occurs explicitly indeed comparatively seldom in the Bible, as the author tells us—three times in the Old Testament and 'under a dozen times' in the New; but its influence is quite disproportionate to its infrequency. It appears repeatedly in the thought of the Fathers of the Church from Irenaeus to Augustine, and recurs in that of St. Thomas. At the time of the Reformation, the significance of the idea was freshly realised and newly assessed and interpreted. And when in recent days a certain famous passage of arms between Barth and Brunner drew attention to the image of God in man, one discovered that, however little differentiated the two protagonists, the doctrine both took its rise and found its issue in profound matters closely affecting life and practice.

Dr Cairns believes that the doctrine of the image of God is an indispensable means of truly representing man's nature, 'he stands in an inescapable relation of responsibility to God and man'. It safeguards a true view of man's freedom: 'in response to God's creative act, he exists'. It is a weapon against non-Christian speculations, 'Freudian man is not fallen; he is merely brutal, in the stuff of his nature', and this view of man ' cannot be dovetailed into a Christian universe'. It is a defence of the dignity of man, which only 'by an error of logic is incompatible with an evangelical faith', and which rightly interpreted 'makes every man an object of reverence to other men'. It is in a word a formula by which man's nature is illuminated and his duty prescribed.

Of the issue concerning the nature of the image of God in man, as posed in the terms prescribed by the *Natur und Gnade—Nein!* controversy, the author sides with Brunner, and Barth comes in for some penetrating criticism. But while most of what the author has to say is deeply influenced by Brunner's view, the central point at which the definition of the image is proposed in terms of formal preservation and material loss, is one which he does not accept without reservation.

It would not be honest (nor would it be credible) to affirm that all readers will be entirely convinced at every step of the argument, or that all the problems of the subject have been completely solved. The present writer was left wondering whether the author held St. Paul to believe that the image of God *is* ours in Christ or *is to be* ours in Him; whether any clear meaning can be read into the definition of man's being as 'a substance which exists in responsive act to God'; and whether St. Paul, with his 'brother for whom Christ died', would be altogether happy to see so much of the weight of the argument for mutual charity and respect shifted on to the ground of the dignity of man.

The first point here is perhaps not made as clear as it might have been. To adopt the first of the alternatives is to embrace perfectionism. St. Paul is sometimes interpreted in this light, but not always; and it can therefore hardly be said with justice that 'this teaching is common to the whole of the New Testament'.

The phrase 'substance which exists in responsive act to God' is an attempt to deal with what is admittedly a very real difficulty. It does the author much credit not only that he sees the difficulty, but that he acknowledges and tries to solve it. The weakness of the existentialist interpretation is that the person seems to be reduced to an apparently disconnnected series of responses. It is a weakness that infects the anthropology that makes extensive use of existentialist categories. But the remedy of supposing a substance which *exists* in act has its own difficulty. One might be tempted to distinguish the creative God from the saving God at this point, and to relate man's persistence in being to the one, and his responsive act to the other. But this has to be recognised as a temptation and resisted. Perhaps all we can do here is to realise that substance is being used in a special sense, appropriate to the *sui generis* nature of the entity to which it is being applied.

As to the third query, it is appropriate to recall William Temple's 'For the Christian, every man is the brother for whom Christ died'. It is perhaps an injustice to attribute a too humanistic bias to the author at this point. The essential truth is saved if we recognise a certain telescoping of his thought: if it is in virtue of man's dignity that his rights are to be recognised, it is a dignity which at all events he possesses not inherently, but as a concession to the creature by the Creator and Father. It is out of their relationship with God and in virtue of that image in which they were made, that men are bound in moral relationships with each other, of which the Christian interpretation is love.

But what an honest and able book this is! The author knows how far his argument carries him with certainty, and at what points it falls short of conviction. He does not try to make out that the importance attached to the concept of responsibility arises directly out of what Scripture has to say about the image of God, but only that it is a legitimate interpretation of the truth which the idea of the image of God conveys. The reader is very seldom left in doubt what the author really thinks: his points are pressed home by repeated summaries and conclusions. It is indeed not a book designed for reading in bed; but the immense amount of study which has gone to its compilation, the erudition it displays, and its well-balanced judgments, will make it much easier for those prepared to wrestle with the problem of man, his nature and his destiny, to find an answer illuminating to both knowledge and practice.

J. K. S. Reid

What do we mean by Reunion? By C. B. Moss. S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d.

In this vigorously argued pamphlet Dr Moss maintains that the approach to the questions of reunion by the Bishop of Derby in his recent *Problems of Reunion* is mistaken and misleading.

He begins with the assertion that the Bishop, with all who have sought to promote reunion between Anglicanism and non-episcopal communions, have failed to define what they mean either by 're-union' or by 'the Church'. Hence they have been inclined to suppose that their main problem was that of the Ministry, whereas they should have realised that Anglicans and non-Anglican Protestants 'have totally different conceptions of the Christian religion'.

The principal difference between them is concerned with the nature of the Church. In Dr Moss's view the Bishop has been blind to the fundamental difference between the concept of the Church which he and successive Lambeth Conferences have had in view and that which the non-episcopal bodies envisage. The former is the theory of a Church that is 'visible, free, and based on one faith and one order'. The latter is the concept of the 'invisible Church, composed not of the baptised but of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity', which is manifested in any congregation where the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered. On this view 'any group of Christians may form a wholly independent Church'. Dr Moss rightly points out that this theory is foreign to the Biblical doctrine of the Church and is inconsistent with Anglican doctrine. Unfortunately he fails to take due account of another alternative: the view adumbrated by Hooker (*L.E.P.* III. I), and expressed by Dr O. C. Quick when he wrote: 'We may affirm that there is schism within the one body of the Church . . . the divided Churches still remain parts of the one body.' As Canon Greenslade puts it: 'Communions in which efficacious ministries and sacraments are acknowledged to operate are not merely groups of Christian individuals disguised as Churches, nor are they bodies outside the Church which possess only vestigia ecclesiae. They are communions within the Una Sancta, different—and all of them partial and imperfect—manifestations and embodiments of the Church . . . No single existing communion has the right to arrogate to itself the title of "The Church".'

The Bishop's approach to the problems of reunion demands that the difficult questions implied in this doctrine of internal schism be faced squarely. Dr Moss refuses to do so. He confuses the issue by attacking an extreme doctrine of the invisible Church, such as would have greatly shocked Calvin upon whom he fathers it. He thus misses the point of the debate, which is not about the visible as against the invisible Church but is between those who agree that the Church is one and is visible, but differ in their interpretation of its nature and essential qualities. He fails to face the problem whether the various separated Christian bodies can or cannot be said to possess efficacious ministries and sacraments. His whole discussion accordingly remains on a superficial level.

For Dr Moss there is scarcely a problem. In his view it *is* possible for an existing communion to arrogate to itself the title of 'The Church'. Indeed there are several communions which can be so designated. These are divided parts of the one true Church. All other Christain bodies are 'connexions' and lie outside the Church. With these no part of the Church can unite on equal terms. Reunion can only be hoped for between the severed parts of the Church; 'connexions' are heretical.

Now it is of course true that, as Dr Greenslade points out, 'our difficulty is to know empirically where to draw the line' in acknowledging parts of the one Church divided by internal schism and distinguishing them from heretical bodies which stand outside. The test must surely be possession or otherwise of Word and Sacraments. In Dr Greenslade's view the criterion is the preaching of the Gospel on the basis of the Bible, the affirmation of the Apostles' Creed (and *a fortiori* the Nicene), the use of the two Sacraments, and the solemn setting apart of men to be ordained by Christ (through the prayers of the Church there represented), as its ministers, the production of the fruits of the Spirit, and the demonstration of a communion's power to survive.

Such a criterion is difficult to apply in practice; but Dr Moss does not stay to examine it and discuss its difficulties, although it represents the sort of criterion demanded by the principles on which the Bishop is working. His own criteria of what constitutes a true part of the Church are as follows. (1) Temporal priority within a particular country. The Church of a country is that body which has existed there since the first preaching of the Gospel. The Churches of Greece, Spain, and Sweden are singled out as examples. (2) The retention of the ancient Church's faith, sacraments, and ministry (how far the Spanish Church qualifies under this heading is uncertain in view of Dr Moss's strictures upon Romanist corruptions of the ancient faith). (3) The claim to exclusive jurisdiction. Point 2 is further explained: orthodox faith is based on the New Testament as interpreted by the Fathers of the period 'before the schisms began'. The retention of the ancient ministry, which is vain in itself unless it is accompanied by the ancient faith, means the maintenance of the episcopate in apostolic succession. Point 3 means that 'there can only be one Church in one country' (a curious revival of the principle 'cujus regio ejus religio'), from which it follows that for the Church of England reunion on any other terms than absorption is only possible with overseas communions that claim universal jurisdiction. Since the Episcopalian Church is the only Church in Scotland it is not surprising that Dr Moss finds the problem of relations with Scottish Presbyterianism baffling.

The Church of England naturally satisfies his criterion of a Church, but only by the strange historical arguments: (*a*) that 'all that the English Church rejected at the Reformation had been introduced after the age of the first missionaries' (a discussion on this point between Cranmer and Gregory the Great would be interesting), and (*b*) that 'the Church of England did not secede from the Roman Communion: it was expelled by Pope Pius V' because it would not accept the new dogmas imposed by Trent(!). The Orthodox, and the Lutheran Churches of the North, are Churches, the Churches of Denmark, Norway and Iceland being given a sort of honorary status; they lack the apostolic succession, but they are 'catholic' enough to be acceptable once this is remedied. They are defective churches, not mere connexions. Presbyterians, however, are disqualified; Calvin rejected the historic episcopate deliberately, and modern Presbyterianism has abandoned the claim to exclusive jurisdiction. Also, its faith differs in some respects from that of the ancient Church.

What this faith of the ancient Church is Dr Moss never precisely defines. An Anglican might suppose that the 'Lambeth Quadrilateral' might be taken as a summary of it; but for Dr Moss that is insufficient. The Bible is not enough without the Apocrypha, as defined and treated in Article VI (though since it is there repudiated as a doctrinal authority, this seems of curiously little importance). The Creeds must include the 'Quicumque' (does Dr Moss attribute this to St. Athanasius?). The Sacraments must be accompanied by a specific doctrine of them. He rightly says that 'to accept the practice of the sacraments without attributing any doctrine to them is to reduce our religion to the level of the paganism of old Rome'. But of course neither the Bishop nor anyone else wants to practise the sacraments without holding any doctrine at all about them. What he demands is that there shall be a liberty of interpretation, and that there shall not be a single exclusively binding doctrine attached to them. But this is in fact what Dr Moss does want, and he fairly clearly implies what it is, so far as the Eucharist is concerned. One of the marks of a Church is that it believes its Eucharist to be an offering to God. Without careful definition this requirement has always been rejected by very many of Dr Moss's fellow-Anglicans, and it is therefore quite inadmissible as a test to apply to other Communions.

The ministry must be episcopal, within the historic succession. All Anglicans will agree that this is true of a reunited Church, but many will reject this principle as a criterion by which large parts of Christendom are excluded from the Church here and now. Dr Moss makes extreme claims for the historic episcopate, which are no longer tenable. It is not legitimate to claim that the universal belief of the pre-Reformation Church that the threefold ministry derived its authority directly from the Apostles is necessarily a correct belief. Nor can the difficulties presented to Dr Moss's thesis by the evidence of the consecration of the early Alexandrian bishops and of Irenaeus be so arbitrarily dismissed as they are in this pamphlet. More serious is his remark: 'Those who deny that our ministerial authority comes from the Apostles had better tell us where they think it does come from.' It does not occur to him that the answer may be: 'From Christ in His Body, the Church.' Yet it is precisely this problem of ministerial authority in non-episcopal communions which is vital to the whole discussion and which he consistently evades.

Even a ministry in the apostolic succession is, however, unacceptable without an accompanying recognition of the 'sacerdotal character of the ministry'. Hence the idea that episcopacy might be 'taken into the systems' of the English Free Churches is ruled out. The sacerdotal ministry is that of 'the Catholic priest offering the Eucharist sacrifice'. If the whole policy of the Anglican Church is not to be 'meaningless', it must give an affirmative answer to the question, 'Do you say that your ministers are priests, like the Romanist and Orthodox priests?' The Bishop of Derby had pointed out that such a doctrine was repugnant to a whole school of thought within Anglicanism. To Dr Moss that school of thought runs counter to 'the universal teaching of the ancient Church . . . and to the rule and practice of the Anglican Communion'. Presumably he does not reckon Hooker among those who have contributed to Anglican doctrine and practice, and will allow no weight to the general consensus of pre-Tractarian Anglican thought. At any rate, an Anglo-Catholic conception of priesthood is to be imposed as a condition of reunion. Against it, Dr Moss sets Calvin's 'ministry of preachers'. Calvin in fact taught that pastors 'who succeed to the place of the apostles receive a commission to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments . . . the two principal parts of the office of pastors are to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments' (*Inst.*, 4.3.6). This is not a mere ministry of preachers. It looks suspiciously like the language of the Anglican Ordinal and Articles. If the non-episcopal ministries claimed only to be preaching offices, the problem would be much easier than it is; but they do not. Anglicans have to decide whether in their view these are real ministries of Word and Sacrament. The problem cannot be solved by testing such ministries by a sacerdotal principle which, while legitimate among Anglicans, is not the doctrine of the Anglican Church as a whole and is repudiated by most of its classical theologians.

Such in Dr Moss's view is the faith and order of any communion that can claim to be part of the Church. Membership of the Church is determined not by baptism alone, but by confirmation as well. The Bishop is criticised for not accepting the late Dom Gregory Dix's peculiar theory of the central importance of Confirmation in Christian initiation. Apparently that highly individual theory is to be equated with 'the doctrine of the Fathers'; but even if the present reviewer's examination of the patristic evidence is to be rejected out of hand, as it is by Dr Moss on the ground that it seeks to test the Fathers by the Reformers (which is untrue), Dix's opinion cannot be accepted as the true interpretation of the early Church's doctrine until the weighty arguments of that unquestionably orthodox 'Catholic', Dr Darwell Stone, have been refuted seriatim. Dr Moss does not trouble even to mention him, so partial and superficial is his treatment of the Fathers to whom he so confidently appeals. He also asserts that not to require episcopal confirmation as a condition of reunion would be to undermine the internal discipline of Anglicanism. He does not pause to consider whether episcopal administration is essential to confirmation, and if not, whether the rite of admission to full membership in some non-episcopal communions may not legitimately be held to be equivalent to confirmation. It is absurd to argue that because the Bishop will not make confirmation a *sine qua non* of intercommunion he therefore contemplates the admission of the uninstructed to Anglican altars.

The book fails altogether to meet the Bishop on his own much deeper theological level. The problem whether non-episcopal bodies, whose baptism the author does not go so far as to reject, possess real and efficacious sacraments, and, if so, how they can be declared to be outside the Church is dealt with on a superficial and legalistic plane. He does not consider how, if baptism can be administered efficaciously outside the Church, it can incorporate men into Christ but not into His Body, nor, if it is not efficacious, how it can be baptism at all. St. Augustine's answer to this problem is in no way adequate. He has not faced the question of non-episcopal ministerial authority and efficacy. His constant appeal to the early Church is wholly unconvincing. Anglicans will always appeal to the creeds and the dogmas of the Councils; but modern scholarship has exploded the sixteenth century conception of patristic authority. The Fathers do not speak with one voice except on the great doctrines enshrined in oecumenical definitions. It is not possible to determine at what date patristic teaching ceases to be authoritative, and it is unrealistic to picture even the early Fathers as living before schism began. The fathers are of the utmost importance, but it will not do to build doctrinal affirmations on a supposed consensus of proof-texts from writers of the supposedly undivided Church. This book appeals to the Fathers as interpreted by Dr Moss. The result is a narrow and unsatisfactory, as well as unscriptural, doctrine of the Church, and the imposition as dogmas of many teachings which have never been written into the Anglican formularies. Most Anglicans believe that episcopacy is a gift of grace which they hold in trust for the united Church of the future. Episcopacy as an exclusive criterion for present membership of Christ's Body is something which very many Anglicans entirely repudiate, especially when it is accompanied by doubtful doctrines and practices such as those that are here commended. It would be most unfortunate if this unrealistic 'isolationism' which, despite Dr Moss's welcome appeal for better mutual understanding among Anglicans, entirely fails to take account of the convictions of non-Anglo-Catholics, were to be preferred to the Bishop of Derby's book as the voice of the Church of England at the present time.

G. W. H. Lampe

Jesus Christ and His Cross. By F. W. Dillistone. Lutterworth Press. 10s. 6d.

The Chancellor of Liverpool Cathedral, who was formerly Professor of Theology at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., is the author of this, his second, book on the subject of the Cross. It is to be welcomed as one more of the many hundreds of books on an inexhaustible theme which will be forever beyond our complete explaining. The reader would make a mistake who concluded that there was not more in this book than a first reading conveys. Dr Dillistone tells us that a good many years of study in the fields of Biblical and historical theology lie behind the book, and that its main object is to provide material for devotional reading. He believes, as almost everybody would, that 'nowhere do theology and devotion come nearer to one another than at the Cross'; and this is the conviction which has determined the sub-title 'Studies in the Saving Work of Christ'; and he is wholly right in his hope that these pages may be specially suitable for Lenten reading.

For devotional purposes, the first and last chapters are excellent. They deal with the Mystery of the Cross and the Glory of the Cross. The former sets forth most reverently those elements in the death of Christ which must remain veiled for us here, and the latter deals with the death of Christ as a triumph over the principalities and powers, as the complete answer to the biggest problem for all men which is the guilt and power of their sin, and as the place where people of every generation are constrained to make the fullest dedication of themselves as a living sacrifice to God. These two chapters enfold the other six which are mainly interpretative of the great categories of thought under which the death of Christ has been conceived in the Bible and preached in the Church of the centuries; and the significant changes of last century are specially noted.

The conception of the 'Saviour-Hero' who overcomes both the power and the fear of death is first taken up. It is shown how the Temptations were an early preparation for the Cross, and the epistle to the Hebrews is chosen as a classic statement of the position. The author is indebted greatly to Professor A. B. Macaulay at this point. When he goes on to show how costly Perfect Caring must be, and how that is combined in the Cross with the cup of Divine Judgment, a just tribute is paid to Dr McLeod Campbell whose theory is sympathetically examined. A little later acknowledgment is made of the powerful stimulus of Dr P. T. Forsyth who himself avows a great debt to Holman Hunt for his pictures, especially 'the Scapegoat'. The difficulties of widely varying interpretation of 'Sacrifice' are recognised; and the basic ideas of redemption, cleansing and covenant are reviewed for the sake of stressing the efficacy and purposiveness of Christ's death. In the chapter dealing with the 'Servant' idea, which in addition to the Old Testament background deals chiefly with passages like Philippians 2.5-11; John 13.1-17; and 1 Peter 2.18-25, it is very helpfully suggested that the two main functions of the 'Slave' were to clear away the dirty, defiling things and to carry the heavy loads. The pages which deal with the unworthy Shepherds are most directly relevant to the present state of the world.

Longish quotations, perhaps, take up too much space. But it is a book to be recommended as likely to be particularly valuable to those who have not yet had the opportunity to reflect deeply on the necessity and the meaning of the Cross, and it will send them back point after point with new zest to their Bible. Readers who have not made much of the epistle to the Hebrews will find that the discussion of passages from it are unusually helpful.

George S. Gunn

Gospel and Law: The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity. By C. H. Dodd (Bampton Lectures in America, 1950). Cambridge University Press. 9s.

In these lectures, delivered at Columbia University, and reproduced virtually as they were delivered, Dr C. H. Dodd extends his earlier studies of the Apostolic *Kerygma* to a consideration of the Apostolic *Didache* or *Catechesis.*

His starting point is the relation of *kerygma* to *didache*, i.e. of the Gospel to Christian ethics or the 'Law of Christ'. Just as the commandments of the Pentateuch are a corollary of the 'saving facts' of Israel's redemption from Egypt, so the ethics of the New Testament are grounded on the *kerygma.* An examination of the *didache* or *catechesis* of the Epistles reveals that it follows in general outline current systems, forming a workaday code in the society of the period. But at four principal points it was transformed by the introduction of motives springing directly out of the Gospel; by eschatology which invested ethical demands with an absolute claim and value in a transient world; by the conception of incorporation in the crucified and risen body of Christ, the nucleus of a new humanity; by the *imitatio Christi*; and by the primacy of *agape*, defined solely in terms of what the Gospel shows of the divine charity in Christ. The conventional ethical pattern thus came to assume its distinctive Christian features by the impact on it of the *kerygma.* In one further respect the Christian ethic received a distinctive stamp in relation to Christ—it was influenced by the teaching of Jesus handed down by the Church.

In thus carrying forward his studies of the *kerygma* to an examination of the *didache*, Dr Dodd directs us to an aspect of the New Testament, which, since Archbishop Carrington's *Primitive Christian Catechism*, is receiving increasing attention. Moreover, not only does his theme go to the very heart of the New Testament message but his general thesis is one to which exception is not likely to be taken; the whole attitude and outlook of the first Christians was manifestly determined and inspired by their Christian faith. When St. Paul describes some of the most characteristic Christians virtues as the 'fruits of the Spirit', he is expressing the same truth. At some lesser points, however, Dodd's argument lays itself open to critical comment. Thus, while the preaching of the death of Jesus was no doubt as important a factor in moulding Christian ethics as he makes out, some will perhaps be inclined to give a more prominent place in the ethics of the early Church to the influence of the teaching of Jesus. Again, to define *didache* over against *kerygma* as ethical instruction (pp. 10 and 12) does not conform exactly to New Testament facts: *didache* was an expanded version of the *kerygma*, embracing Christian life and conduct, but including also instruction in the 'historical facts' as well as the 'saving facts', in the sacraments and eschatology. The *didache* is in fact inextricably bound up with the *kerygma*. And this itself corresponds to the interpenetrating relationship between faith and morals in the Christian life. The Christian faith has not only transformed ethics: the Law of Christ, written in the heart, is a lived faith.

Nevertheless, Dr Dodd has again laid us under obligation, and every minister will profit by the reading of this stimulating little book. C. H. Dodd has the gift of being able to convey the fruits of a lifetime of study of the documents of the faith in such a way that 'he who runs may read'. More than one sermon will take shape in the reading of this thoughtful and penetrating study.

MATTHEW BLACK

Das Christliche Weltbild. Grundlagen und Wirklichkeit einer evangelischen Akademie. By OTTO A. DILSCHNEIDER. C. Bertelsmann Verlag, Gütersloh. 1951. DM 19.20.

IT is the conviction of Professor Dilschneider of Berlin that the newly awakened interest in Christian education, and in particular the movement in Germany since the war to found evangelical academies, is evidence of the fact that the Church is awake to the urgent necessity of getting to grips with secular culture, and of asserting the claims of Christ to lordship over the whole cosmos in its enstrangement from God. Does the Church, however, possess the spiritual resources today, and is she well enough armed theologically, to enter into energetic debate with a secularised world and its science in order to fulfil there her mission of cosmic redemption? Professor Dilschneider has no doubt at any rate about the great possibilities of the Christian message, but these he claims must be worked out anew from the Biblical sources in order to direct the relevance and power of that message to the modern situation. Modern secularism arose in Europe after the period of the Reformation in which the Confessions of Faith in the West were formulated, and these in the nature of the case do not give us the orientation which the Gospel must have today in order to get to grips with the situation. That is the task which the author essays in this interesting and in many ways startling book. It is a sustained contribution to basic thinking in the new concern of Christian communication in a fundamentally alien world.

On the basis of the New Testament teaching, particularly in the Pauline and Johannine literature, Dilschneider expounds the Christian message in terms of the great encounter between Christ and the arbitrary forces of the cosmos, in order to show how the cosmic Christ takes the field today in conflict with the forces of the world through the witness of the Christian Church. It is on such a basis that the Church must press on toward a Christian *Universitas*, in which all thought and culture are brought under the total sway of the risen Lord.

We must not forget, however, that the great syntheses of the past, in medieval times for example, involved a falling away from the Gospel, and the totalitarianism they involved, differed very little (cf. Dostoievski's *Grand Inquisitor*) from the totalitarianism of modern times which Brunner has called 'the Devil of the twentieth century'. A Christian 'Universalism' must beware of being turned through a subtle ideology into a new Tower of Babel. Nevertheless it is the duty of the Church today to work toward such a Universitas, one in which the Gospel of grace forms the supreme basis, and gives it throughout its shape and character. This means the pressing of a thoroughly Christian anthropology and cosmology into the whole of our cultural life, and will involve the setting of Christ Himself as the Wisdom of God at the heart of all our wisdom. That will inevitably mean a great battle with ideological totality, but the Gospel carries with it a radical soteriological integration, and when that is worked out the road leads clearly *vom Sinn-Verlust der Kultur zur Sinn-Einheit in Christus.*

In the last section of the book Professor Dilschneider takes a further step and discusses one by one the main departments of modern culture: the state, economics, law, biology, physics, and technics, and shows how in these realms the arbitrary forces of the cosmos (*die Eigenmächtigkeiten des Kosmos*) are the real agitators of secularisation, and then concludes by pointing out the immediate relevance to these realms of culture of the Christian *Universitas.* At this point we are given an illuminating discussion of the relation between Christianity and modern medicine, particularly 'anthropological medicine'.

There are many theological points in this work about which one would like to have an *Auseinanderstezung* with Professor Dilschneider himself, but he has written a most interesting work which breaks fresh ground, and which will appeal particularly to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

T. F. Torrance

The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church. By S. G. F. Brandon. Pp. xx + 284. S.P.C.K. 30s.

In this book the recently-appointed Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester proposes 'new and radical solutions of the problems of Christian origins'; though he does not claim to be offering more than 'a tentative interpretation of data which contain real and urgent problems'. There can be no doubt that he has made out a very good case for the thorough re-examination of New Testament history, and has provided all students with a great stimulus to carry it out. The issues raised are far from being purely academic. Our knowledge and understanding of New Testament history has an essential bearing on our theological interpretation of the documents. Historical criticism is an essential tool of exegesis.

The interpretation of New Testament history has inevitably been dominated (and not only for conservative scholars) by the description in Acts of the course of events. The historical reliability of Acts has indeed been challenged, either at particular points or with regard to the whole presentation; but even those critics who are most aware of the author's limitations and have stressed his kinship to ancient writers of popular historical narratives would probably assent to the verdict of the late W. L. Knox. 'Within these limitations he appears to be a truthful recorder of the facts available to him. . . . In the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his characters he has given us a vivid picture of the faith of the early Church . . . there is every reason to regard it as reliable' (W. L. Knox, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 67 f). On the other hand it is generally admitted that Acts is inadequate and incomplete on its chosen ground. Thus it pays little or no attention to important external events, e.g. it makes no mention of the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, although it might surely have been supposed that so far-reaching an event would have played a significant part in the development of the early Church. (This example and the ones that follow are taken from Dr Brandon's book.) Furthermore, Acts presents a very limited account of the internal development of the Church, e.g. it gives hardly any impression of the conflict (which appears so vividly in the epistles) between the Pauline, missionary interpretation of the faith and the strongly conservative views of the Jerusalem community. And once again, the account in Acts is inadequate because it fails to provide the necessary data for answering such essential questions as: Why did no documents of the Jerusalem Church survive? How and when did Christianity spread to Alexandria? What motives produced the Synoptic Gospels, bearing in mind that our earliest group of Christian documents (the Pauline epistles) do not betray the same consistently historical approach?

To describe the record of Acts as inadequate may mean one of two things. Either, the account is faithful in its general outline though not complete or impartial; or, the general outline is quite misleading though it contains valuable evidence that can be disentangled by the proper methods of historical inquiry. Dr Brandon takes the second view and proposes a reconstruction of early Christian history independent of the general outline in Acts. It is a comprehensive scheme, offering solutions for all the problems mentioned above and many more besides, and at the same time suggesting what may have been the aim behind the particular presentation of Acts. It turns upon the events that preceded and the consequences that flowed from the Jewish War against Rome A.D. 66-70 (which is fully discussed in chapter 8).

The reconstruction may be summarised as follows: (1) It may be shown, by the indirect testimony both of Paul's writings and of Acts, that the Jerusalem Church had a unique status in the earliest years. It exercised a vigorous control over the Gentile churches, and this control was personified in James, the brother of the Lord. (2) Its general attitude may be detected from evidence embedded in the Synoptic Gospels. Thus it was supercilious towards the Gentiles and only grudgingly admitted their right to enter the Church (e.g. the Syrophoenician woman). It maintained a close association with the cause of Jewish nationalism, an association that may well have begun in the time of Jesus Himself. (3) The outlook of Paul and the outlook of the Jerusalem Church were almost totally opposed. Indeed, theologically they amounted to rival Gospels as Paul himself bitterly complained. For example, Paul found a soteriological meaning in the crucifixion which, for the Jerusalem Christians was to be explained as no more than a tragic accident foretold in the Servant Songs. Broadly speaking the distinction between Jerusalem and Paul is the distinction between the tradition of the historical Jesus and the concept of the universal Saviour-God. (4) Thus the early years of the Church's life were dominated by this conflict, until Paul's authority was finally undermined and Paul himself was removed from the scene by arrest and execution. (5) This apparent triumph of Jerusalem Christianity was checked, however, by the Jewish war. The Christians did not flee to Pella (as Eusebius asserted) but mostly suffered with their fellow-countrymen in the overthrow of the city. Apart from some who may have sought refuge in Egypt, Jerusalem Christianity was destroyed precisely because it had been so closely linked with Jewish national institutions. (6) Mark's Gospel was written after A.D. 70 as an attempt on the part of Gentile Christianity to dissociate itself from the Jewish catastrophe and its consequences. The *historical* form of this writing reflects the historical interest of Jewish-Christian teaching which had had a free run in the Gentile churches from the arrest of Paul to the outbreak of revolt (A.D. 55-66); but Mark was concerned to separate Jesus from his native milieu and to condemn everything Jewish. At the same time, the rehabilitation of Paul began, and was carried further by the Lukan writings (with their idealising distortion of the early history) and by the formation of the corpus of such Pauline letters as could be assembled. (7) In the Church of Alexandria opposition to Paul was still kept up and therefore Acts either suppresses information about the spread of the Gospel to Alexandria or shows its teaching in an unfavourable light (the references to Apollos). The chief literary result of this opposition was Matthew's Gospel (the flight into Egypt, the exaltation of Peter against Paul, severe attitude towards Gentiles). From then onwards the transformation of Alexandrian Christianity from its Jewish origins to its second-century form can be traced in the epistles of James and to the Hebrews, Barnabas and 2 Clement.

Such a summary cannot do justice to this closely-reasoned and well-supported argument. The author states his conclusion in these words: 'After the Resurrection experiences, the most crucial event in the life of the Christian Church was the overthrow of the Jewish nation' (p. 251). In his view two major consequences follow: the history of Christianity up to A.D. 66 must be rewritten; and the aim of the writings produced after A.D. 70 must be re-assessed.

It need not be supposed that the 'discredited' Tübingen criticism has been perversely disinterred. Already in recent years the opposition between Paul and Jerusalem has been the subject of renewed study (e.g. by Professor T. W. Manson in the *Rylands Library Bulletin*—it is a little surprising that Dr Brandon, whose pages are almost overburdened with footnotes, makes no reference to these articles). It may well be that the earliest years of Christianity ought to be redrawn in terms of an internal conflict which Acts has overlaid; but it is not so clear that the aim of Acts is to be discovered in a sort of prudential propaganda. The author may, more thoroughly than is often supposed, have been using in his own way the Jewish tradition of 'theological history'. Is it not in fact probable that the conflict, such as it was, represents the contrast between the wholly exceptional intellectual and spiritual power of Paul and the understanding of other church leaders in his day? (cf. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, p. 99).

It is essential to Dr Brandon's thesis that the Jerusalem Church lived peaceably with the Jews and suffered no persecution. This involves not only rejecting statements in the early part of Acts but also dismissing the evidence of 1 Thess. 2.14-16 as unauthentic. The hellenistic sympathies of Paul are much stressed; his kinship to rabbinic Judaism is minimised. On the other hand, the hellenisation even of Palestinian Pharisaism (before though not after A.D. 70) is ignored, and Palestinian interest in 'straight' history is overplayed. But it is important to notice that this historical reconstruction leans very heavily on a theological construction—an excellent illustration of the mutual inter-action of theology and history. Is it possible that the extreme theological contrast here described is almost inevitable because of the terms in which the two positions are stated? On the Pauline side, how can the reader be expected to assess Paul's attitude to history when his eschatology is not regarded as an essential part of his theology (cf. the resumé of Paul's doctrine on pp. 63-66)? Paul's references in Gal. 1.7 to 'another gospel' will be interpreted as indicating the existence of two presentations of Christianity, differing radically in their contents, only if there is already independent evidence for the contrast. But, on the Jerusalem side, the theology has to be reconstructed by raiding the Synoptic Gospels for material. The precise evaluation of Synoptic material is a delicate problem and it is by no means easy to escape subjective judgments. Dr Brandon's method seems to depend on the assumption that every incident or saying *must* have arisen in the Jerusalem community if it can conceivably be relevant to the later views of that community. What seems lacking is any sense that Jesus Himself may have been great enough and have done something great enough to have overshadowed all that came after and to have provided them with untold material for their elucidation.

The other great problem, the interpretation of Mark, arises directly at this point. The merit of Dr Brandon's reconstruction is that it does propose a solution for the emergence of this innovation in Christian writing. Even so, Dr Brandon presupposes a prior Jewish-Christian historical tradition of the life of Jesus—which was either never written down or has perished completely. If it was never written down, this particular part of the Markan problem has not really been solved; if it has perished, why did the anti-Pauline Matthew have to depend on Mark? It is commonly recognised that Mark's Gospel betrays a deep theological concern: can it be consistently interpreted along the lines suggested by Dr Brandon? Whatever answer is given to that question and however doubtful one may feel about the suggested Alexandrian origin of Matthew, it is clear that the time is arriving when it will be necessary to attempt a thorough re-assessment of the historical significance of the Gospels. In the light of a great amount of recent study the question will have to be answered: what did Jesus set out to do, and what in fact did He succeed in doing?

KENNETH GRAYSTON

Natürliche Gotteserkenntnis. By MAX HUBER. Verlag Paul Haupt, Bern. 114 pages.

THE sub-title of this book is 'A Comparison between Thomas Aquinas and Huldrych Zwingli', but in fact it covers a much wider area. There are discussions on innatism and ontologism; there are longish transcriptions of Kant's and Schopenhauer's criticisms of the theistic proofs of Aquinas, and the Roman Catholic reaction to these criticisms is given. The general Roman position about the relation of faith to reason is indicated, and there is an account of Calvin's teaching on the natural knowledge of God, which Herr Huber thinks is involved in contradictions.

These additions add to the interest and liveliness of the book, and there are useful references leading the reader to the original sources. There is a very good exposition of the five theistic proofs, and Aquinas is treated with due respect, but without the subservience which one sometimes finds in Roman Catholic manuals. But it is clear that the covering of so large an area in 114 pages must lead to a certain inadequacy of treatment. The author is not afraid of making pointed criticisms where he feels that they are needed, and there is seldom any doubt as to his own meaning.

There seems to be one point in particular which calls for criticism. On the first page natural knowledge of God is distinguished from supernatural knowledge of Him. It is stated to be that knowledge which man is in a condition to acquire by his own initiative (von sich aus). But at once the question is raised whether we can distinguish between what man does for himself and what God does for him.

And the answer is given that no satisfying reply to this question is possible. If God is absolutely the originator of all that happens, then there is no meaning in speaking of a knowledge of which a man is capable without supernatural help. But if God is not absolutely the originator of every event, we are still unable to decide certainly where He is at work and where not. And if no knowledge of Him is possible without His co-operation, we still cannot apportion so much activity to Him and so much to ourselves. So we must define 'Knowledge of God acquired by our own initiative' as 'Knowledge gained by man without help recognised by special marks as supernatural'.

This is unsatisfactory, since no indication is given of the sense attached by the author to the phrase 'special marks of the supernatural'. Further, there are many theologians who believe that no revelation of God is possible unless God takes the initiative and yet are not willing to deny a general revelation. Zwingli himself held such a view, and he would have indignantly repudiated the suggestion that there was any knowledge of God 'acquired by our own initiative'.

As a matter of fact, there is a clear distinction to be made. On the one hand there is human inference from an idea or experience of man in which God is not present in personal confrontation, to the conclusion, at the tail of a syllogism, that God exists; and on the other hand, there is a self-revelation of God which is a direct confrontation. The former appears to be the kind of knowledge which is claimed by the Roman Catholic natural theology; the latter is the characteristic of the general revelation as expounded by a number of modern theologians of different schools, such as Buber, Brunner and John Baillie.

The author criticises Zwingli's exegesis of Romans 1, 3.19, and says it is singular. He himself seems to interpret this verse in the same sense as do the Roman Catholics. God has made possible an inference to 'His eternal power and Godhead' from the visible facts of the world. Zwingli, on the other hand, holds that the passage refers to what we would today call a divine initiative and personal confrontation. He says in reference to this passage 'We see here clearly that the knowledge of God which we ascribe to a so-called Nature, comes from God. "For God", says Paul, "hath shewed it to them." And what is Nature but the steady and unceasing activity of God and ordering of all things? And whence comes our understanding but from Him, which worketh all in all?'

It is true that Zwingli links up this exegesis of his with a deterministic and near-pantheist view of the universal activity of God. But this is not necessary implication of his exegesis of Romans 1.19—an exegesis which is surely much nearer to the mind of St. Paul than the Roman Catholic one.

In this emphasis in the thought of Zwingli on the divine initiative in all human knowledge of God, is there not an explanation of the apparent contradiction noted by the author, that on the one hand Zwingli says 'What God is, we know by our own power just as little as a beetle knows what God is', while on the other hand he is willing to ascribe a considerable knowledge, and even faith, to certain of the heathen? According to Zwingli, neither Hercules nor Theseus were left 'to their own power' in the matter of knowing God, any more than St. Paul.

It is a stimulating experience to read Herr Huber's book—and perhaps most valuable where one disagrees with it!

David Cairns

Die Anfänge der Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis. By Arthur Rich. Zwingli-Verlag, Zurich. Sw. Frs. 9.80.

Dr Rich begins with a careful examination of the humanist phase in Zwingli's thought (1514/15 to mid 1520). Here he finds him a passionate champion of the 'Renaissance of Christianity' by 'Christ alone' through 'faith' and the study of the Scriptures, but shows that he meant no more by all this than Erasmus did: he had not yet broken through the limitations of Erasmian humanism, but merely exchanged the intellectual rationalism of his scholastic period for an ethical rationalism.

It has been widely held that the eventual break-through was due to the teaching of Luther. But this Dr Rich rejects. He argues that in the critical years Zwingli can have read at most eight of Luther's (lesser) writings and obviously took from them only what was of service for his own attacks on indulgencies, saint worship, papal authority, tithes, celibacy. This, along with the total absence at this period of any specifically Lutheran tenet in his writings, and the apparent inclusion of elements which he must have known Luther rejected as *theologia gloriae*, strongly supports his own repeated claim to independence. And in view of this it is safe to say that, whatever indefinable 'impulses' may have been imparted by the 'event of Luther', Zwingli must already have reached a reformed position before learning from his teaching.

The really significant crisis, Dr Rich holds, was precipitated by the Bull against Luther and the ensuing confusion in the humanist camp. Now decisions had to be made, sides had to be taken; and many of the enlightened chose to forsake the cause—proof that after all enlightenment was not enough. This was disaster to the hopes of the humanist Zwingli. But amid the ruins the Reformer was born. For he now began to characterise the opposition as ultimately demonic, to await final victory solely by an act of God, to speak of himself not in terms of freewill but as a vessel in God's hand to be made or marred at His pleasure. This new outlook Dr Rich finds first expressed in a letter to Myconius (July 1520), and in the *Pestlied* (which, he argues most ingeniously, was written at this time, and is not an account of some inner transformation during the plague of the previous year, but rather an attempt to express in terms of that terrible illness the new insight into the trials of the Christian and his cause in the world). And thence he carefully traces through the somewhat scanty records of the succeeding months the development of a fully reformed position. Here Scripture is no longer just the highest ethical norm, but the sovereign Word of God in which He is personally present and at work. And this imparts an entirely new quality to all the rest. Corrupt human institutions are now the expressions not of blindness but of rebellious obstinacy, and derive from self-love—if not indeed from the devil. The Law of Christ is not only the norm of conduct, but itself also the source of the power to realise it, and therefore at the same time also Gospel. The Renaissance of Christianity depends not on mere human endeavour but on the eschatological act of God. And thus (although Zwingli himself seems to have been less clearly aware of it than Erasmus was) the whole range of humanist terms and concepts is so qualified that, although outwardly all remains the same, in actual fact it is fundamentally new. It is here, indeed, that Dr Rich finds Zwingli's abiding significance and the key to his reformed thought: in the consistency with which he saw everything related to, and ordered by, the efficacious working of the Word, not thereby abandoning the humanist Gospel, but taking it up into this relation in a new form—'he sought to assert the universality of Erasmus' understanding of the Gospel on the ground of the wholly non-Erasmian faith of the Reformation'.

The Zwingli student will find here much that is new and suggestive. One welcomes the vindication of Zwingli's claim to independence (even if, at times, the slenderest evidence seems pressed into service). And the attractive new interpretation of the *Pestlied* would seem to raise fewer problems than it solves. Again, the importance here ascribed to the eschatological qualification of earlier terms and concepts may well rouse new interest in the precise nature of Zwingli's eschatology. And another matter which surely calls for closest scrutiny is the suggestion that after 1526 increasing political concern and a certain weakening of faith in the power of the Word permitted the reintroduction of purely humanist and even scholastic elements.

The more general reader will find there is also something perennial about the discussion. For Erasmus has not by any means been alone in the preoccupation with human values (particularly moral values), the subtle use of apparently unexceptional terms with a foreshortened or totally unbiblical content, the tacit subordination of Scripture to some independently-chosen norm, the allegorising (perhaps not so very different from 'demythologising') which aims at expressing the eternal truth behind the unacceptable letter, the simple assumption of human free-will. And Dr Rich's examination of such things and their implication has thus a relevance beyond his own immediate sphere. On the other hand, the Reformer Zwingli has not been the only one to use contemporary terms and concepts without always being aware of the new content imparted by the Word they are used to serve. And here Dr Rich's study underlines the need for constant vigilance and critical examination lest this new content be lost, ignored or impared.

James W. Leitch

Documents Illustrating Papal Authority, A.D. 96–454. Edited and introduced by E. Giles. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d. net.

Anglicans of all schools have long carried on the controversy with Rome and many of them have used the appeal to 'antiquity' as their most effective weapon. Patristic scholarship has found many passages in the Fathers which on the surface at least seem to tell against Papal claims, and these have been quoted again and again and as often reinterpreted by the champions on both sides of the argument, so far inconclusively. Mr Giles is one of those who think it unfortunate that there is a wide gulf between the Roman Catholic and Anglican views on Church authority, and his book is an endeavour to avoid the methods of 'axe-grinders' and to allow the general reader who is interested in the controversy to study the cited texts for himself and as far as possible objectively. He has gathered together the often-quoted passages (269 of them!) printing them in translation with enough of their contexts to help understanding, and with brief but clear introductions elucidating the situations in which they were written. This is certainly most useful. But he has also added some notes showing the interpretations put upon the passages by the controversialists. This is done in an admirably fair and non-controversial way, and should foster a more purely historical approach to this difficult problem. The book is a delight to handle and to read, and would be a convenient text-book for seminar purposes.

John H. S. Burleigh

Presbyterian Bishops? By J. M. Ross. Presbyterian Publishing Committee, 134 George Street, London W.1.

Mr Ross is an elder of the Presbyterian Church of England, who has taken a special interest in and has made an extensive study of the problems of Church Order and Inter-Church relations. He represented his Church in the conversations which resulted in the Report 'Church Relations in England', and is one of those commissioned to stimulate and guide discussion of the Report in his own Church. This little brochure is an example of the kind of discussion that may be expected when a Presbyterian minister brings together a senior elder, the president of his literary society, the leader of the Fellowship of Youth, and the local vicar. All of them take part in the discussion and speak in character, while 'Mr Telling' expounds the plan for Presbyterian bishops which is to facilitate intercommunion with the Church of England. The difficulties, historical, theological and practical, are stated and answered. It is agreed that permanent moderators of Presbyteries might be advantageous, but not sufficient, for there remains the question of Apostolic Succession, in which Mr Ross (Telling) sees some value as a symbol of continuity with the Church of the second century if not with the Apostles. This is an able plea for the policy Mr Ross supports.

John H. S. Burleigh

The Fruits of Controversy. By Edward Langton. Lutterworth Press. 15s. net.

In spite of its title, Dr Langton's book is in the main a useful popular account of the origins of the Puritan movement in England, the migration of the Pilgrim Fathers to New England and their early fortunes there; followed by a similar account of the religious struggles in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution. The latter, it is pleasant to note, seems to be entirely free of the elementary misunderstandings of Scottish history which Englishmen rarely avoid. The title of the book derives from the shorter concluding section in which Dr Langton develops his thesis, viz., that controversy in religion is inevitable, healthy and fruitful in good results, promoting not only toleration, civil and religious liberty, and democracy in Church and State, but also pure Scriptural truth and primitive simplicity and righteousness. This will doubtless be a refreshing note to minds not obsessed with 'the scandal of divided Christendom' or caught up in the prevailing tendency towards ecclesiastical unity. Dr Langton is all for unity in diversity, and welcomes the recent proposals of the Archbishop of Canterbury, still under discussion, which frankly recognise the value of differences and formally repudiate the idea of uniformity. But he sees that the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, as held by some Anglicans, must remain a subject of controversy. He favours some form of Federal Union with intercommunion, and agrees with Dean Inge that 'The unity of the spirit in the bond of peace is the only reunion that matters'.

John H. S. Burleigh

Primitive Gospel Sources. By B. P. W. Stather Hunt. James Clarke. Pp. 344. 18s. net.

Modern source criticism of the Gospels has habitually followed the pattern of the Four Document Hypothesis elaborated by B. H. Streeter. But from time to time the question has been raised whether there should not be posited as a major element in Gospel construction a primitive Christian collection or collections of Old

Testament material bearing directly upon the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Rendel Harris, who answered this question with an emphatic affirmative, has now found a new champion for his views in Canon Hunt. There is, indeed, much to be said for the theory that the earliest Christian text-book was a compilation of Old Testament 'Testimonies'; and it is easy to see that such a document would be invaluable for Christian converts and and almost indispensable for the Church in its debate with the synagogue. Canon Hunt is of the opinion that Judaism itself had supplied a precedent by the use of excerpts—chiefly Messianic prophecies—from the sacred writings; and the Church, seeking to prove that Jesus was One 'of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write', at once adopted the practice for the purposes of its own mission. Direct New Testament evidence for the existence of a cycle of testimony literature may be lacking, but Canon Hunt is convinced that the indirect evidence is more than ample to prove his contention. Thus, for example, 'some obscure passages in the Epistles are best explained on the theory that they refer to teaching so well known to the readers that a mere hint is sufficient to call a whole section of such teaching to mind.' And are not many of the striking conflations of Old Testament passages, both in Gospels and Epistles—including as they occasionally do such phenomena as wrong attribution of authorship and 'out of context' quotations—best explained on the assumption that they are derived not from the Septuagint itself but from a collection of proof-texts? Moreover, the Old Testament quotations in Christian literature of the early centuries—from Barnabas and Melito to Cyprian—point in the same direction.

On the basis of an intensive research, Canon Hunt holds it as clearly proved that the Gospels contain much 'submerged testimony matter', and that the primitive Testimony Book 'dominated the outlook of all the writers of the New Testament from the very first'. With much force and persuasion he argues that behind this method of the early Christian mission lies the authority and the initiative of our Lord Himself. Both the content of the earliest *kerygma* and the form of the Gospel records were fixed on the day when the risen Christ, 'beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning Himself'. The first Testimony Book was born of the teaching received by the disciples between the Resurrection and the Ascension. It cannot, however, be said that Canon Hunt is on firm ground when he suggests that this was the document to which Papias referred when he declared that Matthew wrote down the *logia* in the Hebrew (Aramaic) tongue. Out of the Testimony Book—so Canon Hunt maintains—

sprang in due course the Gospels. 'It was this cycle of literature which St. Mark used as a quarry from which to draw material for his Gospel.' To the witness of the Law and the Prophets was now added the fulfilment in the advent and the life, the teaching and the miracles, the death and the rising of Jesus. The author of the Gospel of Matthew, writing for Jewish circles as Mark had written for Gentile, emphasised even more specifically the main purpose of the Testimony Book. To the support of his argument Canon Hunt brings in the evidence of the patristic writers. Giving detailed illustration, he argues that 'the mere fact that the early Fathers filled their pages with continual references to the Old Testament, and that they scarcely dare take a step unless it is guaranteed by its testimony, is conclusive proof that they, like the Apostles, were incurably "testimony minded"; so that whenever they want to give a reason for their belief they refer to the Testimony Book.' From the very beginning, then, there must have existed a corpus of proof-text in constant use.

Even if we cannot accept all Canon Hunt's conclusions—for example, his identification of the *logia* and the *testimonia*, or his challenge to Streeter's well defined position on the relationship between Mark and Q, or his interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews as an 'open letter' addressed to Jews, or his insistence that the one commanding motive of the Evangelists was to demonstrate how thoroughly the events of Jesus' life fitted the pattern laid down for the Messiah by the prophets—nevertheless we must thank him for an exciting exploration along a difficult but fascinating track. He himself admits that he may have tried to prove too much and that some of his propositions are less arguable than others. One justifiable criticism would be that too little stress is laid on the fact that the Evangelists, while controlled at every point by the Old Testament, recognised and proclaimed that all patterns had been broken and remoulded in the mightiest of all the mighty acts of God. But at least he has shown how securely the *kerygma* and the *didache* of the early Church was based upon (to use Cullmann's terminology) 'the past stages of redemptive history in their relation to the Christ-Event at the Mid-point'. The primitive community's constant insistence on the fulfilment of revelation in Jesus is proof that the lofty Christology of the Gospels and the Epistles, so far from representing a subsequent development and heightening of an originally similar message, belongs in fact to the basic structure of the faith and was present from the first.

JAMES S. STEWART

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